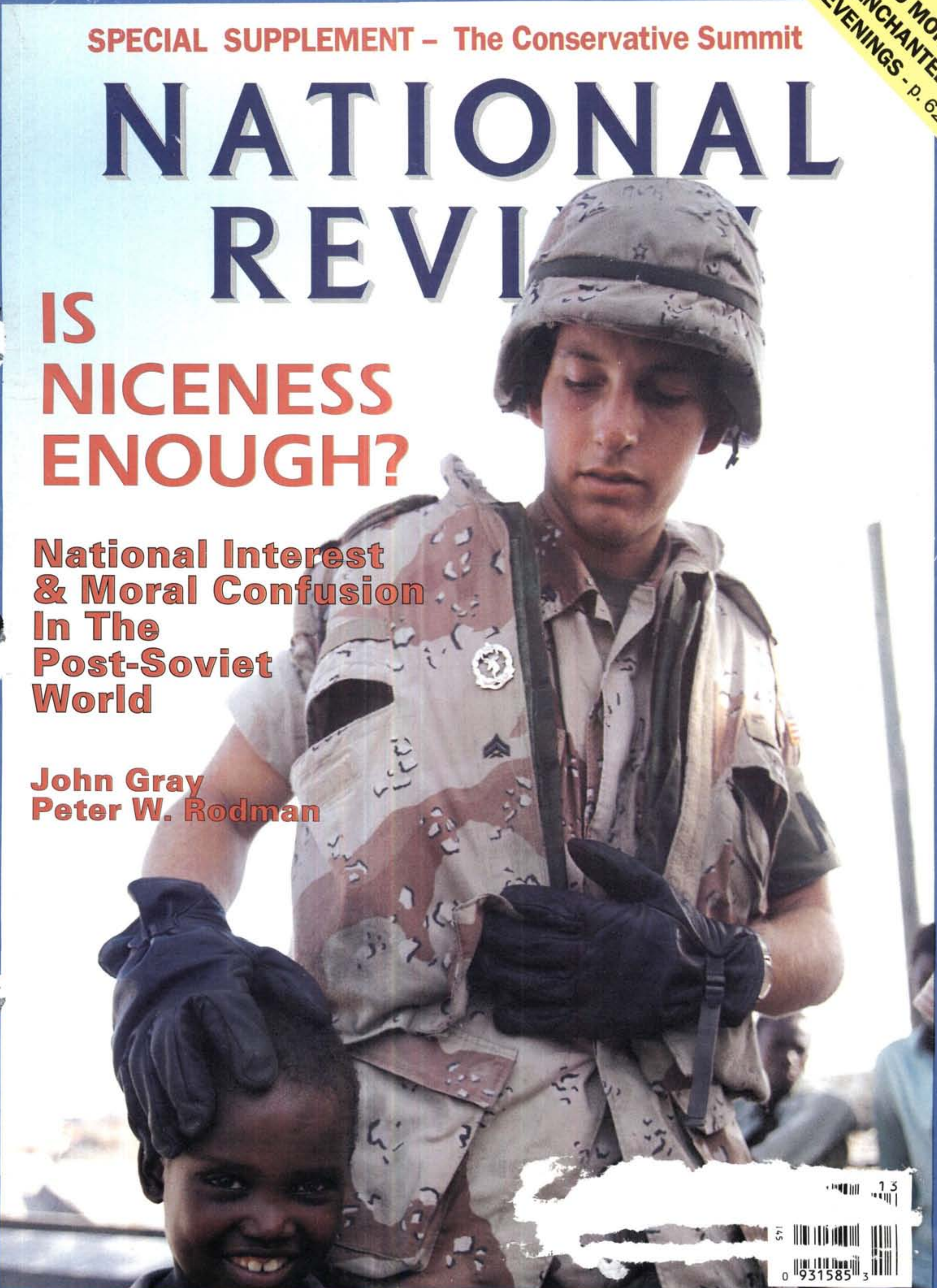
MARCH 29, 1993 49145 $2.95

Vol. 45 No 6

NO MORE ENCHANTED EVENINGS - p. 62

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT – The Conservative Summit

NATIONAL
REVI



IS NICENESS ENOUGH?

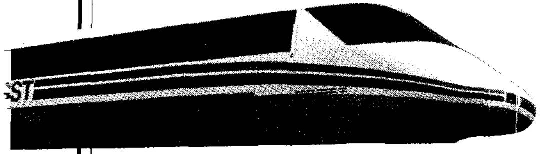
National Interest & Moral Confusion In The Post-Soviet World

John Gray
Peter W. Rodman

13
145
0 931585 3

Electricity May Be The Best Chance We Have Of Getting Where We Want To Go.

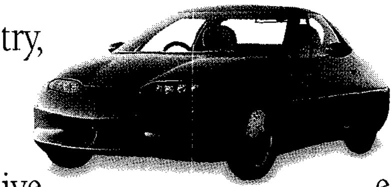
Transportation is one of the glories of our century. We travel faster, farther and more comfortably than at any previous time in history. Yet as we enjoy advances in transportation technology, we must remain sensitive to their impact on our environment.



Electric trains will significantly reduce emissions levels.

That's why the electric utility industry, along with the automotive industry, is developing innovative technologies that retain the glories of rapid travel, while reducing environmental impact.

Electric vehicles will use half the energy of today's models, while cutting emissions by as much as 50% to 98%. The same holds true for electrically powered buses, trains, vans and light rail systems.



Electric vehicles use half the energy of today's models, while cutting emissions by as much as 50% to 98%.

The technological capability is here, ready to be tested, refined and implemented. We need not sacrifice quality of life or quality of transport to maintain quality of our environment. Electricity can take us anywhere we want to go. For more information, call the Edison Electric Institute at 1-800-438-8334 or, in Washington, at (202) 508-5002.

ELECTRICITY
Taking you into the future.

Electric train courtesy of Southern California Edison Co. • Impact courtesy of General Motors Electric Vehicle.

© Edison Electric Institute, 1991.

NATIONAL REVIEW

MARCH 29, 1993 VOL. XLV, NO. 6

RECEIVED
BALDWIN-WALLACE
RITTER LIBRARY

Cover Story

27 ***Backward into the Future***
The world needs U.S. leadership, argues **John Gray**, but Wilsonian democratism will only lead to debacle, isolation, and chaos. . . . **Peter W. Rodman** offers guidelines for intervention—*how* being as crucial as *when*.

Articles

22 ***On the Scene***
Brit Hume looks at the highest-ranking Republican in Washington: Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole. . . . Amazingly, it is still possible to romanticize Communist thugs. **Melvin J. Lasky** reports some choice absurdities of the Honecker affair. . . . Is school choice racist? **C. Sheldon Smith** reports on bureaucrats striking back.

52 ***The Clinton Economic Plan***
It can neither reduce the deficit nor stimulate the economy, explains **Paul Craig Roberts**; indeed, by boosting government at the expense of the private sector, it will do the reverse.

56 ***Honor among Environmentalists***
Peter Samuel presents a man ruined for trying to *clean up* an environmental horror.

59 ***How to Lose Arguments—and Elections***
Americans put business ahead of government, but, notes **Gary L. Bauer**, family ahead of both.

61 ***Letter from Al***
Bill and Al never bond any more—but Tipper knows the way to a President's heart.

Special Supplement

33 ***The Conservative Summit***
We present reports by **Tom Bethell** and **Richard Brookhiser** and remarks by **Jack Kemp**, **William Bennett**, **Pete duPont**, **Jeane Kirkpatrick**, **Robert Bork**, **Charles Murray**, and many, many more.

Books, Arts & Manners

62 No sane man can compare *Miss Saigon* to *Oklahoma!* or *South Pacific* or *Annie Get Your Gun*; **Anthony Lejeune** explains why both simplicity and sophistication have gone down the tubes. . . . The attention, or lack of it, paid to John Lukacs's remarkable *The End of the Twentieth Century and the End of the Modern Age* proves his point to **Conor Cruise O'Brien**'s satisfaction. . . . **Jerold S. Auerbach** finds William Safire's treatment of the Book of Job in *The First Dissident* quite unauthoritative. . . . **Richard Brookhiser** doesn't buy *Operation Shylock*. . . . To **John Simon**'s chagrin, *Sommersby*, *Love Field*, *Mac*, and *Indochine* variously squander good material and good matériel. . . . **James Gardner** presents Douglas Bourgeois, a man who actually deserves the praise showered on other contemporary artists.

80 ***The Misanthrope's Corner***
To **Florence King**, "health consciousness" looks remarkably like a New Age infection.

Sections

2 ***Letters***
4 ***From the Editor***
6 ***For the Record***
9 ***The Week***
50 help
74 ***Trans-O-Gram***
77 ***Books in Brief***
78 ***On the Right***

Cover photo: Steve Lehman/SABA

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 1993. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P.O. Box 96639, Washington, D.C. 20090-6639; phone, 301-350-7258, Monday–Friday, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 96639, Washington, D.C. 20090-6639.

RATES: $57.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LETTERS

Making History Up

Richard Brookhiser ["On the Offensive," Feb. 1], by referring to *Liberators* as a documentary, gives this film a status it does not deserve. To help raise the self-esteem of blacks and give them moral leverage against Jews, the producers Rosenblum and Miles had the chutzpah to have black soldiers of the United States Army liberate Dachau and Buchenwald, when in fact no blacks were near these concentration camps on liberation day. This pack of lies, so far from improving race relations, can only aggravate them.

Herbert Loebel
Sherman, Ct.

Abusing Statistics

I am a Reagan Republican and an attorney who has practiced before juvenile courts. And I am appalled that *NR* would publish an article like K. L. Billingsley's "The Scientific War on Child Abuse" [Feb. 15]. In my experience, in the vast majority of all child-abuse cases, Child Protective Services is justified in intervening to protect children. In fact CPS is not doing enough to protect children from parents who are drinking and drugging themselves into a stupor, then calling that behavior a "lifestyle choice."

There are cases where mistakes have been made, such as the Wade case. But to characterize that as the rule and not as the exception is outrageous. To allege that middle-class families are making a profit by being foster parents is absurd. Most of the foster parents that I've met are foster parents out of a religious or personal commitment.

To suggest that some one million Americans are falsely accused of child abuse each year is downright misleading. When Child Protective Services receives a referral of potential child abuse or neglect, a brief investigation is done. If child abuse or neglect cannot be confirmed, then the case is designated as "unfounded." This doesn't mean that there has been a false accusation of child abuse, any more than "not guilty" verdicts mean that those alleged criminals were falsely accused.

All in all, I have never read such an ill-informed article in NATIONAL REVIEW. I call upon you to set the record straight.

Gary E. Robbins
Flagstaff, Ariz.

I refer Mr. Robbins to The Crisis in Foster Care *report (June 29, 1992) of the San Diego County Grand Jury, based on extensive research and hundreds of interviews. It found that 70 per cent of foster children should "never have been removed from their parental homes" and that "many foster parents are motivated by money" and "in the business of making money." The foster funds sometimes constitute "the entire family budget." Even good foster parents had been "co-opted by the system."*

The jury found three hundred local cases with similar elements to the Wade case, and concluded that up to 60 per cent of child-abuse cases should not be in the system. Richard Wexler's national figures on false accusation come from the same statistics used by those in the system, and probably understate the problem.

How odd to find a Reaganite lawyer defending a corrupt bureaucracy whose power knows no bounds, where the presumption of innocence is defunct, and which allows anonymous accusations. Mr. Robbins's own state of Arizona uses the penile plethysmograph on boys as young as 10. He should look into this child abuse. —KLB

Kudos

In my fifty years of voracious reading, I have never read anything as funny as Richard Lederer's "56 B.C. and All That" [March 1]. What a howl. It was a welcome departure from all this serious chaos we are confronted with today.

Joanie Barra
El Segundo, Calif.

The Blunderer in Bosnia

I was bemused at reading "Boxed In in Bosnia" [March 1]. The description of Cyrus Vance as having an "unbroken record of being wrong on everything he has touched in thirty years" is right on target. But I was interested in your not mentioning his two most egregious examples of idiocy: his attempt to restart the Korean War, and the derecognition of the Republic of China.

In 1977 Philip Habib was dispatched to the Republic of Korea to discuss the withdrawal of U.S. troops. The suggestion was rejected by horrified Korean dissidents, as well as by the governments of Korea and Japan. Such action could well have launched another war with all its dire consequences, and I suspect that a major reason for not going ahead with the U.S. pullout was that no ranking military man would support such a thoughtless move.

The derecognition of the Republic of China was accomplished with more speed, but no more finesse. In spite of repeated assurances that the Republic of China would be given advance warning of any change in diplomatic relations, U.S. officials put in a phone call to then-Prime Minister Chiang Ching-kuo in the middle of the night to inform him that the change was taking place immediately. The U.S. was not only transferring its embassy from Taipei to Peking, it was also revoking recognition entirely. This violated a congressional action to ensure that Taipei, though downgraded from embassy status, would maintain diplomatic ties on a lower level. In addition to being a gross affront to an old ally, this also cancelled all treaties.

In this case bloodshed was not likely to result, but it was still unwise. The ROC was expelled from the UN in 1971, but that U.S. derecognition in 1979 was an even more drastic blow.

It is most unfortunate that Cyrus Vance was invited to muddy the waters in Bosnia. The best we can hope for is his retreat to Wall Street, where the killing fields are figurative, not literal.

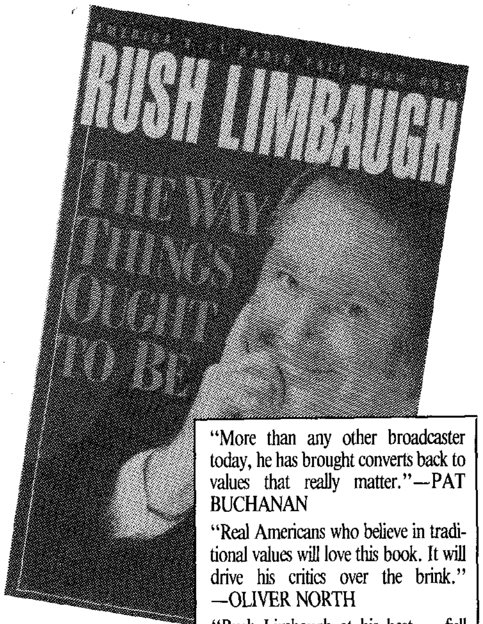
Hugh O'Neill
New York, N.Y.

Rallying around the Flag

I am stunned by the position you have taken ["The Week," Feb. 15] regarding the Georgia state flag. Is there a more appropriate symbol of resistance to the Leviathan than the Confederate battle flag? Witness its use at rallies in the Baltics and in Eastern Europe. Surely the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW have not forgotten the milieu of 1956, a time when the several branches of the Federal Government were engaging in wholesale usurpation, in the name of "civil rights," of powers constitutionally reserved to the states. Was not *NR* founded only one year earlier to assist in the struggle against such abuses? Please rethink your position on this one.

John Clayton Randolph
Little Rock, Ark.

2 conservative bestsellers worth $29.99 — yours FREE



Most popular talk show host now delivers the fastest-selling conservative book ever published

Rush Limbaugh is not only right. Rib-achingly funny, this master satirist makes liberal idiocies look as ridiculous — well, as ridiculous as they are. No liberal myth survives Rush's laughter.

But this book is more than a barrel of good laughs. It's a conservative call to action. The message:

This is the way things ought to be . . . the way things used to be . . . the way they can be again.

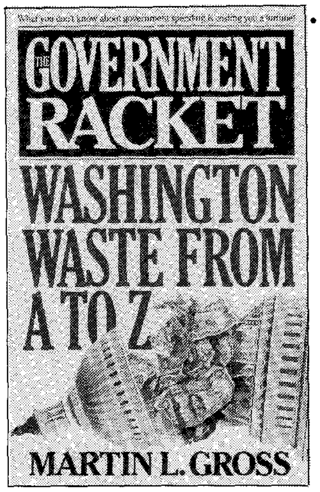
#1 bestseller

"More than any other broadcaster today, he has brought converts back to values that really matter."—PAT BUCHANAN

"Real Americans who believe in traditional values will love this book. It will drive his critics over the brink."—OLIVER NORTH

"Rush Limbaugh at his best — full of verve, humor and insight."—WILLIAM J. BENNETT

This man sat down and read the entire 2,000-page federal budget. And lived



Then Martin Gross put it all down, in sickening detail: how Congress and the President waste hundreds of billions every year, *mostly on themselves, their cronies, and the voters they bribe*.

The hundreds of outrages documented in this book are just the tip of the iceberg. That's because the con artists who run America these days are so cute about hiding their raids on your money. But Martin Gross now turns over the federal rock. Take a peek at the worms underneath.

But this is more than a catalog of thievery. All 26 chapters conclude with practical suggestions for *eliminating* the waste and fraud—*suggestions which, if followed, would be enough to erase the runaway deficit*. More important, he spells out the unconstitutional usurpation of power on which our decrepit system rests—and how the electorate can help restore limited government. You remember limited government, don't you?

Mail coupon below to get your 2 bestsellers FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing; it will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books are offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB
15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, N.Y. 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send, free and postpaid, my two conservative bestsellers: Rush Limbaugh's $22 *The Way Things Ought to Be* PLUS the $7.99 quality paperback by Martin Gross, *The Government Racket*. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club bargain prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

NR - 207

Name ______________________________

Address ____________________________

City ____________________ State ________ Zip __________

NATIONAL
REVIEW

Issue date: March 29, 1993
Print date: March 10, 1993

John O'Sullivan *Editor*

Senior Editors
William J. Bennett / Richard Brookhiser
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Peter W. Rodman
Linda Bridges *Managing Editor*
Mark Cunningham *Articles Editor*
Geoffrey Morris *Executive Editor*
David Klinghoffer *Literary Editor*
Radek Sikorski *Roving Correspondent*
Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Tony Savage *Assistant to the Editor-at-Large*
Editorial Associates
Rich Lowry / Richard Samuelson
Jane Buckley Smith
Editorial Services
Michael Ashton / Millie Fletcher
Michael A. Watkins
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Ed Rubenstein *Economics Analyst*
Research Assistants
Russell Jenkins / Frederick W. Campano
Contributing Editors
Elliott Abrams / Wick Allison
Hadley Arkes / Tom Bethell
Peter Brimelow / Eliot A. Cohen
Brian Crozier / W. H. von Dreele
Andrew Ferguson / Florence King
Richard John Neuhaus / Kate Walsh O'Beirne
Paul Craig Roberts / Peter Samuel
John Simon / Ralph de Toledano
Ernest van den Haag / Vin Weber
Timothy J. Wheeler
Joseph Sobran *Critic-at-Large*

Thomas L. Rhodes *President*

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor-at-Large*

Contributors
Digby Anderson / Aram Bakshian Jr.
Baloo / David Brudnoy / John Chamberlain
Donald Coxe / John R. Coyne Jr.
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / James Gardner
George Gilder / Victor Gold
Malcolm Hancock / Henry Hazlitt
Charles R. Kesler / James Jackson Kilpatrick
Jan Lukas / D. Keith Mano
Charles Burton Marshall / Forrest McDonald
Brad Miner / Thomas Molnar / Joe Mysak
Gerhart Niemeyer / Michael Novak
Grover Joseph Rees / Alan Reynolds
William F. Rickenbacker / Selden Rodman
William A. Rusher / J. O. Tate
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
S. L. Varnado / Richard Vigilante
Charles Wallen Jr. / Chilton Williamson Jr.
Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*
Richard C. Carpenter *Athens*
Business Services
Kevin Longstreet / Derek O'Ferrall
Vanessa Petrillo / Galina Veygman
Advertising Sales
James J. McCabe *Director*
Michael Danforth / Andrew Smith
Suzanne McEntee
Direct Response Advertising Scott Budd
Jack Fowler *Assistant Publisher*
Catherine Moraetis *Assistant to the Publisher*
Patricia B. Bozell *Special Projects Editor*
Jason Ng *Circulation Manager*
Virginia L. Bauer *Circulation Director*
Arthur F. Stetzner *Fund Director*
Theresa Maloney *Comptroller*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*
James X. Kilbridge *Chief Financial Officer*

Edward A. Capano *Publisher*

Printed in the U.S.A.

FROM THE EDITOR

Among Friends

■ I was a guest last Saturday at the Inner Circle, New York's equivalent of Washington's Gridiron Club, at which reporters and columnists lampoon politicians. Such occasions allegedly illustrate the cheerful side of the "natural antagonism" between press and pols.

By and large it was a lively show. And despite the liberal near-monopoly of New York's media, conservative jokes intruded from time to time.

To the tune of "Gee, Officer Krupke," for instance, some "cops" turned to the audience and bellowed:

Right, hey, Mayor Dinkins,
We're singing the blues.
Whatever bums my guys lock up,
The juries cut loose . . .
Justice ain't only blind,
It's dumb. Very dumb. [etc.]

This was perhaps a revelation to David Dinkins sitting there, since he seems to imagine he is mayor of a much safer city.

Then *two* Heathers with *four* Mommies (a/k/a the "Mamas and the Mamas") serenaded the sacked schools chancellor:

Fernandez done told me
When I was in first grade
That I had two mommies, oy . . .
Hear the School Board's pleading,
Please, Joe, teach 'em reading.
Okay? . . .

Such political incorrectness was refreshing. But it could not last. The penultimate number had "the Clintons" leading the cast in a slightly altered version of "Our Time":

Seize the day,
Straight and gay—
We're the movers and we're
the shapers;
We're the names in the daily papers.
It's our time; breathe it in.
Worlds to change and worlds to win.

This may have been written as satire. It may have had a satirical edge in rehearsal. On the night itself, however, the "natural antagonism" between press and politicians suddenly evaporated and, across the footlights, the two sides united in a perfect sympathy they may have mistaken for idealism.

It's our time, we believe
It's the time for family leave.
We're back, PATCO, too—
Now the skies are safe for you.

Reporters and pols, black and white and Latino, straight and gay, the whole "gorgeous mosaic" of New York's and America's liberal class, they're back, and for PATCO the skies are safe.

But not the streets.

■ Our supplement on the National Review Institute's "Conservative Summit," though it runs to 16 pages, captures only a flavor of the full occasion. Much still lies in store.

We will publish George Will's speech on the future of conservatism next issue. Panels will furnish material—e.g., on health care—for future articles. And the full conference will soon be available on 22 hours of videotapes. It goes in a flash.

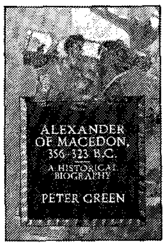
That is because, as Tom Bethell's picaresque report in this issue makes clear, the Summit was high intellectual fun. A good time was had by all.

So I was sorry to see that my old friend, Karen de Witt, wrote in the *New York Times* that the audience was not only "overwhelmingly white and mature, the women dressed in oatmeal-colored suits . . . the men bald and sedate," but also that they were "not happy people . . . the tight set of the women's mouths, the lowering visages of the men" in the grip of "fear . . . fear of change itself," etc.

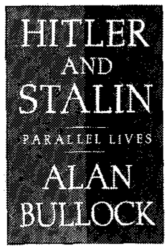
I can't say I noticed that myself. But the fact that Karen was wearing day-glo print trousers, high leather boots, a bright orange cape, and aviator sunglasses may have produced at least some of the startled reactions she recorded. I felt in need of aviator sunglasses myself. —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

TAKE ANY 3 FOR $1 EACH

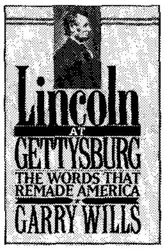
Plus a 4th at 35% off the publisher's price. **NO RISK, NO COMMITMENT.**


ALEXANDER OF MACEDON, 356-323 B.C.
A HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHY
PETER GREEN

28-0554
Pub. price $34.95


HITLER AND STALIN
PARALLEL LIVES
ALAN BULLOCK

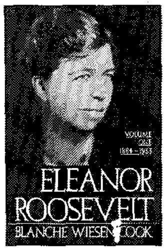
88-0631
Pub. price $35


Lincoln AT GETTYSBURG
THE WORDS THAT REMADE AMERICA
GARRY WILLS

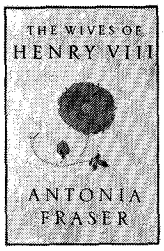
78-0759
Pub. price $23

A HISTORY OF THE ARAB PEOPLES
ALBERT HOURANI

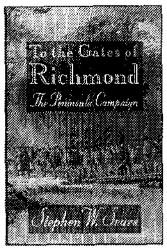
78-0446
Pub. price $24.95


ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
BLANCHE WIESEN COOK

28-0779
Pub. price $27.50


THE WIVES OF HENRY VIII
ANTONIA FRASER

18-0842
Pub. price $25


To the Gates of Richmond
The Peninsula Campaign
Stephen W. Sears

98-1138
Pub. price $24.95

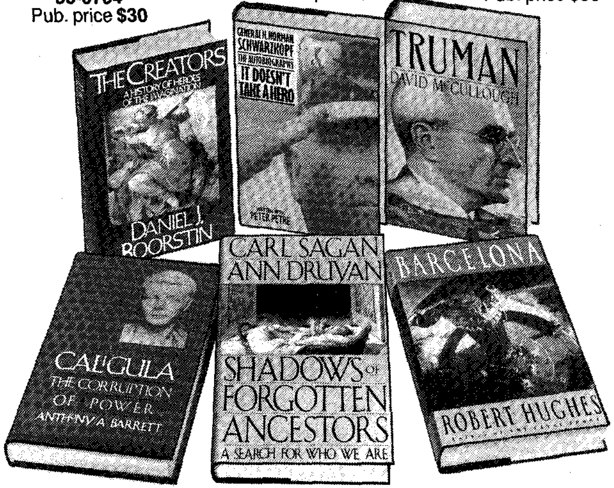
AFTER TET
THE BLOODIEST YEAR IN VIETNAM
RONALD H. SPECTOR

88-0985
Pub. price $24.95

38-0764
Pub. price $30

58-0838
Pub. price $25

98-0800
Pub. price $30


THE CREATORS
DANIEL J. BOORSTIN
GENERAL H. NORMAN SCHWARZKOPF
IT DOESN'T TAKE A HERO
TRUMAN
DAVID McCULLOUGH
CALIGULA
THE CORRUPTION OF POWER
ANTHONY A. BARRETT
CARL SAGAN ANN DRUYAN
SHADOWS OF FORGOTTEN ANCESTORS
A SEARCH FOR WHO WE ARE
BARCELONA
ROBERT HUGHES

88-0229
Pub. price $27.50

18-0897
Pub. price $23

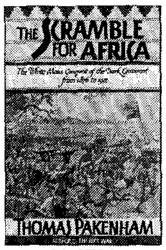
88-0703
Pub. price $27.50

MICHAEL GRANT
THE FOUNDERS OF THE WESTERN WORLD
A HISTORY OF GREECE AND ROME

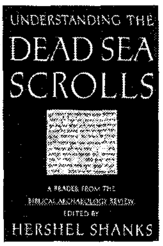
48-0476
Pub. price $27.50

INVENTING the MIDDLE AGES
NORMAN F. CANTOR

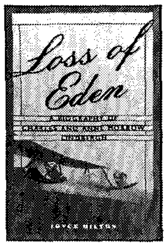
48-0580
Pub. price $28


THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA
THOMAS PAKENHAM

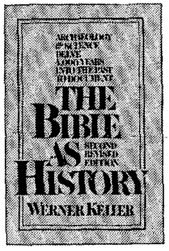
68-0734
Pub. price $32


UNDERSTANDING THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS
HERSHEL SHANKS

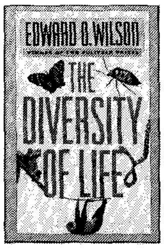
88-0960
Pub. price $23


Loss of Eden
A BIOGRAPHY OF CHARLES AND ANNE MORROW LINDBERGH
JOYCE MILTON

58-0997
Pub. price $25


THE BIBLE AS HISTORY
SECOND REVISED EDITION
WERNER KELLER

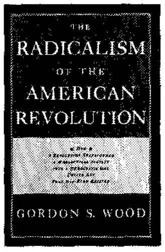
58-3012
Pub. price $21.95


EDWARD O. WILSON
THE DIVERSITY OF LIFE

98-0904
Pub. price $29.95

JFK
Reckless Youth
Nigel Hamilton

98-0866
Pub. price $30


THE RADICALISM OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
GORDON S. WOOD

78-0606
Pub. price $27.50

A BIOGRAPHY
Kissinger
WALTER ISAACSON

58-0862
Pub. price $30

Save on the best recent history titles.

No matter what area of history you enjoy reading about most, you'll find that History Book Club offers some of the finest selections being published today. And no book club we know offers greater savings–as much as 25% off publishers' list prices.

You can save even more by taking advantage of our Introductory Offer. Select any three books on this page for $1 each when you take a fourth book at 35% off the publisher's price, plus shipping and handling. Thereafter, you're not obligated to order any more books. You may cancel membership at any time by notifying History Book Club. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy at least one book in any six-month period.

How the Club works. You'll be able to choose from 150 to 200 books featured each month. History Book Club always offers its members well-made, long-lasting editions.

You'll receive our *Review* and a dated Reply Form 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks), plus up to 4 more offers of special selections. If you want the "Editors' Choice," do nothing–the book will come automatically. If you want another book, or no books at all, return the Reply Form by the date specified. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

Your HBC guarantee: If you receive an unwanted "Editors' Choice" because you had less than 10 days to decide, simply return it and pay nothing.

History Book Club® Camp Hill, PA 17012-0001. Please enroll me in History Book Club® according to the no-risk, no-commitment terms outlined in the accompanying ad. Send me the four books whose numbers I have listed below. Bill me $1 each for 3 choices, and the fourth at 35% off the publisher's price, plus shipping and handling.

3 choices at $1 each: 3-19

___–___ ___–___ ___–___

4th choice at 35% off the publisher's price: ___–___

Name ____________________ H123-3-5
(Please print clearly)

Address ____________________ Apt. # _____

City __________ State __________ Zip ________

#053

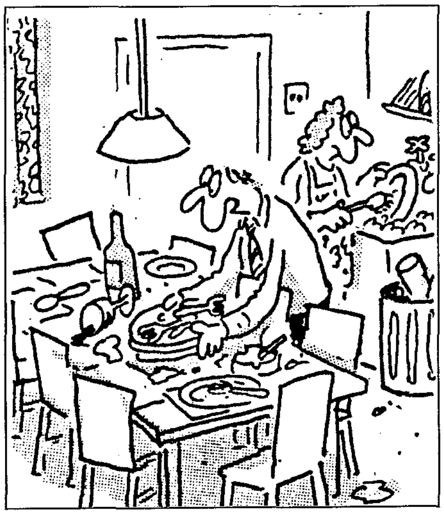
To help us serve you, please tell us what you like to read.	STRONGLY DISLIKE	SOMEWHAT DISLIKE	NO OPINION	SOMEWHAT LIKE	STRONGLY LIKE
A. Civil War	1	2	3	4	5
B. Ancient History	1	2	3	4	5
C. Military History	1	2	3	4	5
D. American History	1	2	3	4	5
E. British History	1	2	3	4	5
F. Russia, Asia, the Middle East	1	2	3	4	5
G. European History	1	2	3	4	5
H. Current Affairs	1	2	3	4	5
I. Social/Intellectual History	1	2	3	4	5

© 1993 History Book Club, Inc. All orders subject to approval. Prices generally higher in Canada.

FOR THE RECORD

■ Supporters of **Bill Clinton** are already jumping ship. **Dennis Gartmann**, a Republican who backed Clinton, said after looking at new economic plan: "I am embarrassed, frankly, because I was so public in my support." . . . And **Joseph Rosenberg**, member of Treasury's Public Services Advisory Committee, recently told *Washington Post* that economic package is not about "deficit reduction . . . It's a tax program with a lot of new spending initiatives. The whole world is going in a direction opposite from where Clinton is taking us, away from government control of economies." . . . As a result of effort led by veteran **Richard Kania**, President has received some 15,000 postcards asking him not to visit the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial. One card reads: "Let's not see you engage in any hypocrisy" visiting this site. . . . *Human Events* reports West Point officials may have discouraged a visit by Commander-in-Chief because they feared he would be booed by cadets. . . . **Evans & Novak** reveal that, when **Chelsea Clinton**'s Secret Service escort was temporarily replaced by a military man, she complained, on grounds that her family does not like the military.

■ In Massachusetts, with young **Joe Kennedy** bowing out of 1994 gubernatorial race against **William Weld**, Democratic side is open. Weld, who trailed Kennedy in early polls, now leads all likely Dems: Attorney General **Scott Harshbarger**, 1990 candidate **John Silber**, Boston Mayor **Raymond Flynn**. **Ted Kennedy**, meanwhile, has plummeting approval ratings: 41 per cent, down 19 points in four months. His '94 re-election bid would fall 25 years after Incident at Chappaquiddick. . . . Conservatives are hopeful about special election (May 4) to fill Wisconsin seat vacated by now-SecDef **Les Aspin**. **Perot**-like, but pro-life, businessman **Mark Neumann** is likely to get GOP nod on April 6. He drew 42 per cent of vote against Aspin in 1992 general election. District is Republican, and his themes of cutting waste, spending, and perks to reduce deficit are likely to hit home. Five-way Democratic race may leave weakened opponent. . . . National and local GOP united behind **Hayes Dent**, a 31-year-old conservative and aide to Gov. **Kirk Fordice**, in March 30 open-party special election to fill Mississippi House seat vacated by now-Agriculture Secretary **Mike Espy**. Meanwhile a dozen Democrats have thrown hats into ring. Run-off expected fortnight later. . . . In New Jersey, just as Democratic Gov. **Jim Florio**'s image was improving, Clinton's economic plan reminded voters of Florio's huge tax increase three years ago. And as two candidates fighting for GOP nomination to oppose him were hurt by hiring alien nannies, a chief aide to Florio had same problem after the governor had pronounced his staff clean. . . . **Bob Sylvester** hopes to win the St. Paul, Minnesota, city-council seat that he held from 1974 to 1978—only this time as **Susan Kimberly**, whom he became ten years ago. . . . Bird-Watching News: **Alger Hiss**, now 88, displayed either a new sense of humor or historical amnesia in an interview with *American Birds*, when he named the **prothonotary warbler** as his favorite bird. Love of such bird was evidence that led to his perjury conviction in 1950.



"If I hadn't got out a copy of the Maastricht Treaty they would never have left."

© Matt, *Daily Telegraph*, London / Rothco

■ Corruption scandals are overturning politicans worldwide: "What you are seeing is the end of a regime—a bloodless revolution—on the scale of something that has happened in Eastern Europe," says **Carlo de Benedetti**, chairman of electronics giant, **Olivetti**, about widening indictments of Who's Who in Italy. . . . Japan's 78-year-old longtime kingmaker **Shin Kanemaru**, disgraced by scandal last year, has been jailed on new charges of tax evasion. . . . Members of French President **François Mitterrand**'s Socialist Party—including president's touted successor, **Michel Rocard**—are facing defeat in March 21 and 28 elections as result of scandal. . . . German scandals have spread from government coalition partners to opposition SPD, with closest advisor of party's likely candidate for chancellor, **Björn Engholm**, accused of receiving political payoff. . . . Meanwhile, **Jacques Delors**, president of the European Commission, told the European Parliament: "the economy is in crisis, society is in crisis, democracy is foundering. The very idea of a united Europe is in peril." . . . Archbishop of Canterbury, **George Carey**, opines: "Most of us are in the Community for selfish reasons, for economic reasons, for materialistic reasons. . . . There have got to be spiritual reasons. . . . If we end up with a Fortress Europe, that's not a Christian Europe." . . . Supporters of EC dismayed at fact that Northern Europeans are growing faster than Southern neighbors: Brits and Germans on average grow close to an inch taller every decade, and Dutch men about an inch and a half. **Hans Jürgens**, a German anthropologist hired to study the problem, explains: "As things stand, a Dutchman can't work in Italy."

■ **Kim Campbell**, Canadian defense minister and leading candidate to replace outgoing Prime Minister **Brian Mulroney** as head of Progressive Conservative Party, responded to being dubbed "the **Madonna** of Canadian politics": "The difference between me and Madonna is the difference between a strapless evening gown and a gownless evening strap."

ACCORDING TO A SURVEY
IN *USA TODAY*,
ADELPHI UNIVERSITY'S CAMPUS
IS THE SAFEST IN AMERICA.
ACCORDING TO ADELPHI'S
PRESIDENT,
IT'S THE RISKIEST.

From USA Today's College and University Crime/Safety Survey, December 7th, 1990:

Adelphi University ranks number one — with a score of 3.9 out of a possible 4.0 — in this crime/safety survey of 497 colleges and universities across the nation. This survey grade is the most comprehensive measure of how safe an environment a school creates for its students.

From President Peter Diamandopoulos' "Statement of Educational Philosophy" of November 11, 1992:

Adelphi University does not offer the higher education that many students seem to seek, that parents appear to wish for their children, and that our society says we need.

Adelphi has set out to rediscover the lost vision of true higher education. We aim to give fresh power to the all-but-abandoned idea of education as preparation, achieved through the discipline of reason for the quest for truth.

What benefits do we propose for our students? We believe they will develop the skills of critical thinking, reading, writing and disputation — skills that are essential not only for the world of work, but which constitute the ground and means of every modern human achievement.

We intend them to grasp the fundamental knowledge, issues, values and debates that, for better and for worse, have formed — and continue to transform — the world in which we live.

Finally, we will provide them with the learning necessary to reflect sensitively and judiciously on their place and possibilities in the world.

ADELPHI UNIVERSITY Garden City, NY 11530. To arrange a tour call **1-800-ADELPHI**

NOW MORE THAN EVER

Conservative Students Need To Be Prepared To Defend Their Beliefs On Campus

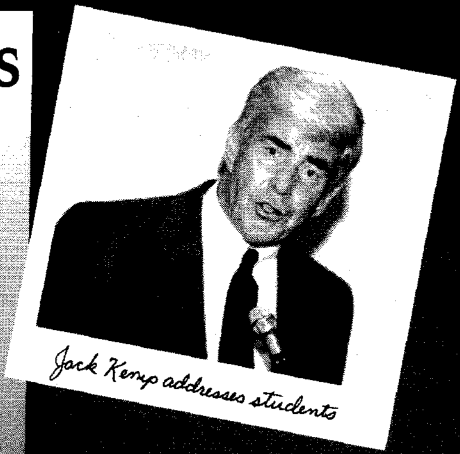
Jesse Helms greets student

"I always enjoy speaking to the National Conservative Student Conference sponsored by Young America's Foundation. The enthusiasm of the students and the strength of the Foundation's programs give me added optimism about the future of conservatism in the 1990s."
—Senator Phil Gramm

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION
presents the

15th Annual National Conservative Student Conference

WASHINGTON, DC
July 25-31, 1993


Jack Kemp addresses students

"[illegible] I can go back to my college campus and share those ideas."
—Student

1992 CONFERENCE SPEAKERS

JACK KEMP
DINESH D'SOUZA
CONG. ROBERT DORNAN
JEFFREY HART
EDWIN MEESE
RUSSELL KIRK
PHIL GRAMM
ALSO:
A PRIVATE WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING
CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFING

The National Conservative Student Conference brings college students to Washington, D.C. to explore conservative ideas, public policy issues, and strategies for surviving on campus. Students meet with congressmen, leaders of the conservative movement, and also get to know other right-minded students from across the country. The conference equips students to return to their campuses with articulate and effective defenses of conservative beliefs.

YOUNG AMERICA'S
FOUNDATION
F. M. Kirby Freedom Center
110 Elden Street, Herndon, Virginia 22070
1-800-292-9231

SPECIAL 15th ANNIVERSARY BANQUET
open to conference alumni and the public, call Young America's Foundation for reservations

For further information about the conference and an application, clip and mail to Young America's Foundation, or call our toll free number 1-800-292-9231.

Name ____________________
Address ____________________
City ____________________ State ______ Zip ____________

THE WEEK

■ Making the rounds in NYC: Do you know what they found at the bottom of the rubble in the World Trade Center? A GM van and an NBC camera crew.

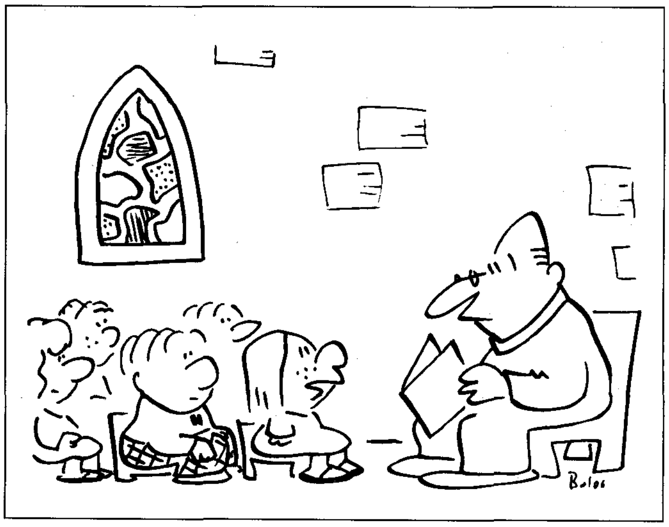
■ Until the World Trade Center bombing, the United States had been mercifully free from the terrorism that has so tormented Western Europe and the Middle East. But we now face the prospect of those who seek to destabilize their own governments disrupting our lives in the process. Bombing suspect Mohammed Salameh is reputed to be a follower of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, an Egyptian fundamentalist mullah whom some link to the terrorists who gunned down Anwar Sadat in 1981. The sheik in due course fled Egypt for the spiritually purer air of Jersey City. It is small comfort to learn that he was on somebody's list of dangerous people. What is the purpose of such lists if those on them enter the country at will and freely incite terrorism? The FBI should crack down—not necessarily deporting them (which would only spread terrorism elsewhere) but putting them out of circulation altogether. Above all, we must remember that the terrorists win only if they intimidate this country into changing policy. If we have the fortitude not to yield to blackmail, and we make that plain from the start, terrorism will subside.

■ Nobody said the End of History wouldn't be *interesting*. But the chap who got nabbed by the FBI after demanding the return of his cash deposit on the exploding van may not deserve to be the butt of the Mother of All Ethnic Jokes. After all, his $400 outlay amounts to *twice* the cost of the explosives used—1,000 pounds of nitrate (NH_4NO_3) fertilizer. It may disconcert gun-control advocates to realize that anyone who meekly turns in a handgun for a $100 bounty can convert the proceeds, no questions asked, at any garden-supply store, into enough high explosives to drop the Brooklyn Bridge. So keep an eye out for suspicious-looking folks in the check-out line with just a single rose bush and a hundred-weight of prilled ammonium nitrate. Still, there may be hope: nowhere in the United States Constitution is it written that Congress shall make no law criminalizing African violets.

■ In order to pass its first spending program, a $5.7-billion extension of federal unemployment benefits, the Clinton Administration urged Congress to increase the deficit. Indeed, the White House even declared an "emergency" in order to avoid the Budget Enforcement Act's pesky requirement of paying for new spending measures. Republicans in both Houses voted unanimously to cut expenditure elsewhere as a means of funding the extension. In defeating this Republican amendment, Senate Democrats argued that voting to hold down the deficit was "an effort to torpedo the President's economic program." These votes clear up any lingering confusion over Mr. Clinton's position—he's for higher federal spending, a higher deficit, and business as usual.

■ As if on cue, Ross Perot came to Capitol Hill to tell an audience of senators, claqueurs, and TV cameras that spending cuts should accompany tax increases. Well and good. Now pay attention. Anyone who focuses on the deficit *qua* deficit will come up with a mix of tax increases and spending cuts (cf. the 1990 budget deal, the 1982 Dole tax hike, etc., etc.). Any such mixture that does not emphasize reducing the proportion of GNP consumed by government spending will be reduced solely to tax increases when the spending cuts fail to materialize. By calling for the typical remedy, Ross Perot shows that he, like Bill Clinton, is just a typical politician. By expecting spending cuts to appear without presenting the most compelling reason for them, he shows that he's a naïve one as well.

■ As we go to press, we do not know how the stand-off between the Branch Davidians and the FBI will turn out. Still less do we understand why events led to a shoot-out and a stand-off in the first place. David Koresh and his followers entertain bizarre notions and live communally, but so do tens of thousands of other Americans. The Branch Davidians have assembled a small arsenal, but legal guns, as



"Why didn't Pontius Pilate just name a special prosecutor?"

the commentators point out, are common in West Texas (in places with stricter gun-control laws, only illegal guns are common). None of this, on the face of it, justified a paramilitary operation. Why the urgency? If Koresh was needed for questioning, why wasn't he picked up on one of his frequent excursions from the compound? Do we want paramilitary force disposed of so casually? Media post-mortems of the affair will doubtless focus on the strange ways of the pseudo-Messiah's cult—which is right and proper. But they should focus on bureaucratic grandstanding too.

■ More than a month into the Clinton Presidency, "Promise Limbo" remains well stocked. The latest entries: 1) After a meeting with British Prime Minister John Major, Clinton essentially shelved his campaign promise to appoint a peace envoy to Northern Ireland. 2) The *New York Times* reports that, although changes may be forthcoming, the promised improvements in refugee processing inside Haiti haven't yet occurred (Clinton gets extra credit for this one, since it was a promise made to cover for abandoning his pledge not to turn Haitian boat people away). 3) Numbers reluctantly disclosed by the White House reveal that so far only half of the promised 25 per cent White House staff cut has materialized, despite Clinton's standard boast on the hustings that he has already made the full reduction. But the President *has* honored his pledge to stay in permanent campaign mode, which means making no promise he can keep.

■ Representative Henry Waxman (D., Calif.) recently sneaked a last-minute amendment into legislation reauthorizing the National Institutes of Health. It directed the National Cancer Institute to study environmental and other risks related to incidences of breast and prostrate cancer. Mr. Waxman specified that the estimated $1-million study be conducted in Nassau and Suffolk Counties in New York, about three thousand miles from his home district. Confused? Then meet Phil Schiliro, Mr. Waxman's administrative assistant, who ran unsuccessfully for Congress in Nassau County last year, made breast cancer an issue in his campaign, and is said to harbor further political ambitions. By the looks of Mr. Waxman's amendment (which still could be killed), Mr. Schiliro is well qualified for his prospective career. Here is someone delivering pork to his constituents *before* he is elected.

Hillary's Group

Exclusive as the sessions
  To build the atom bomb
When Einstein memo'd Teller
  But never told his mom,
They meet with elbows ready
  To shove the docs aside,
And when the Maypoles blossom,
  They'll tell us, "Open wide."

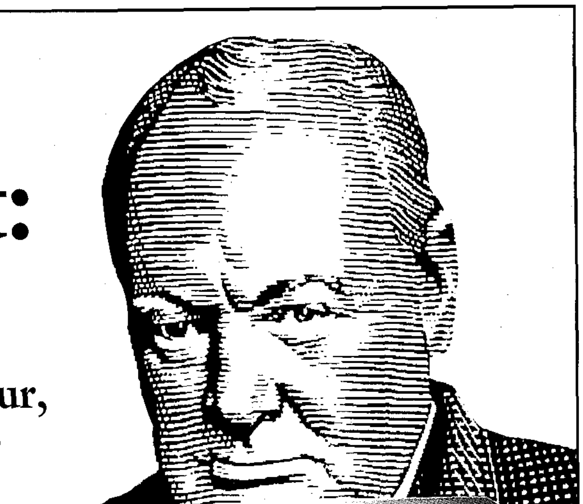
W. H. VON DREELE

■ Is the Right afraid of the Religious Right? Is the Christian voting bloc a Frankenstein monster that turned, at Houston, on its creator? In the last month, Irving Kristol and Murray Rothbard have welcomed the continued role of the Religious Right in politics. Kristol: "It is the religious who have a sense that the tide has turned and that the wave of the future is moving in their direction. . . . If the Republican Party is to survive, it must work at accommodating these people." Rothbard: "Most libertarians think of Christian conservatives in the same lurid terms as the leftist media, if not more so. . . . Nothing could be further from the truth: Christian conservatives are trying to fight back against a left-liberal elite. . . . The task of paleolibertarians is to break out of the sectarian libertarian hole, and to forge alliances with cultural and social, as well as politico-economic, 'reactionaries.'" Neither man, be it noted, is an evangelical Protestant. The people most afraid of the Religious Right continue to be the Left, and those establishment Republicans who let the Left tell them what the world looks like.

■ With the appointment of Joseph Stiglitz to the Council of Economic Advisors, virtually every big-name academic trained by the ultra-liberal MIT economics department is in Washington. That means that the next crop of economics students is likely to be trained by someone other than an MIT graduate. Which may be the most bullish long-term economic indicator we've seen in some time.

■ With the Bush recovery throwing up 365,000 new jobs in February, Mr. Clinton's stimulus program suddenly looks like an idea whose time has come and gone. Labor Secretary Robert Reich hit the airwaves with damage control, noting that temporary workers accounted for a disproportionate share of the new hires and that we are about three million new jobs behind where we were at this stage of the last recovery. Indeed, fewer new jobs have been created—for the simple reason that unemployment had not gone up nearly as much in this recession as in the last one. As for temporary workers, they are the last refuge for employers fleeing the burdens of the Americans with Disabilities Act, the 1991 Civil Rights Act, unemployment insurance, mandatory benefit plans, the minimum-wage law, the Davis–Bacon Act, and a slew of other regulations. The arti-

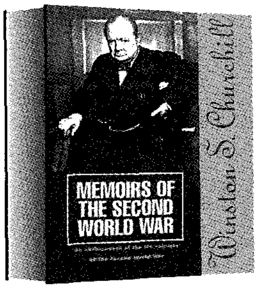
A Choice of Churchill's Best: from $4.98



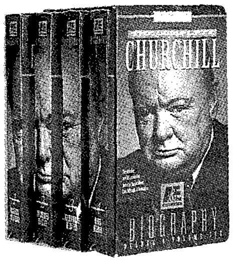
Encompassing valour, honour, splendour, eloquence, majesty and historic savings.

From the pen of an acknowledged master of the English language, statesman, inspiring leader and the greatest 'Brit' of this century: Books that amply demonstrate why Sir Winston Churchill was awarded the Nobel Prize for *"...mastery in historical and biographical presentation."*

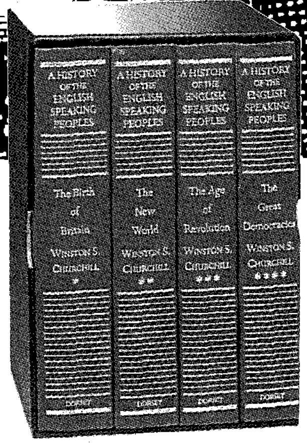
Taking a cue from Toynbee's 'challenge and response', we're known for our 'savings and response'. Over a million satisfied readers respond to the significant savings we historically offer. The savings on our Churchill choices are a classic example.


MEMOIRS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR
Winston S. Churchill

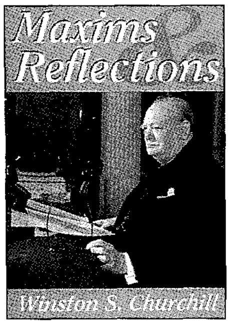
$14.95
Orig. Pub. $35.00


CHURCHILL
BIOGRAPHY

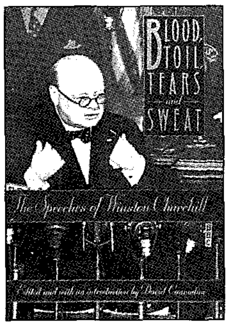
$59.95
4-VHS Set


A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH SPEAKING PEOPLES
The Birth of Britain
The New World
The Age of Revolution
The Great Democracies
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

A History of the English Speaking Peoples
$29.95 Orig. Pub. $99.95
4-Vol. Slipcase Set


Maxims & Reflections
Winston S. Churchill

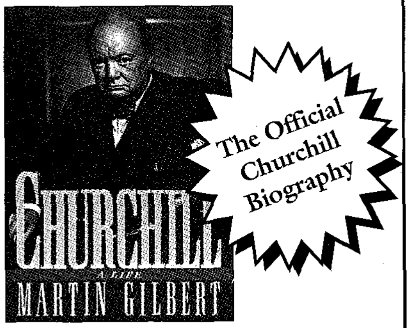
$6.95


BLOOD TOIL TEARS and SWEAT
The Speeches of Winston Churchill

$4.98 Orig. Pub. $10.95 (***Paper***)

WINSTON CHURCHILL
The Boer War

$9.95


CHURCHILL
A LIFE
MARTIN GILBERT
The Official Churchill Biography

$19.95 (***Paper***)

Barnes & Noble
Booksellers Since 1873

Dept E701 122 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011

Please rush the following:

- ____ **Memoirs of WWII** *1860956*..........$14.95
- ____ **Churchill Video Bio** *1838218*..........$59.95
- ____ **English Speaking Peoples** *1593730*..........$29.95
- ____ **Maxims** *1786391*..........$6.95
- ____ **Blood, Toil, Sweat & Tears** *1860964*..........$4.98
- ____ **Boer War** *1715028*..........$9.95
- ____ **Churchill Bio** *1852912*..........$19.95

Shipping & Insurance Charge	
Merchandise Total	S & I
Under $15.00	$2.00
$15.00-$24.99	$3.00
$25.00-$44.99	$4.00
$45.00 and up	$5.00

Please add the appropriate sales tax for CA, CT, MA, MI, MN, NJ, NY & PA ______

Postage & Insurance ______

TOTAL $______

Payment method *(check one)*:
☐ Check ☐ Master Card ☐ Visa ☐ American Express ☐ Diners Club

Credit Card Number ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Expiration Date ___/___

Signature ____________________

☐ **Please send a free Barnes & Noble catalog.** *No purchase required.*

Name ____________________

Address ____________________ *Apt #* ______

City ____________________ *State* ______ *Zip* ______

Our Unconditional Guarantee: You must be completely satisfied with every item you order from Barnes & Noble by mail, or you may return it for a full refund.

ficially high price of labor has also induced some companies to over-invest in new machinery—displacing workers while starving other industries of new capital. Mr. Clinton's package, which raises the price of labor with extra taxes and regulations while providing industry with incentives to invest, threatens to exacerbate this trend, installing a higher level of unemployment through the ups and downs of the business cycle—at least in the private sector.

■ Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School hosted a conference at the end of February, bringing together senior U.S. and former Soviet officials—including Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and Kremlin foreign-policy aide Anatoli Chernyaev—to reminisce about the end of the Cold War. To the discomfiture of many Americans, the Soviets insisted that Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (derided by the liberals as "Star Wars") played a major role in Gorbachev's decision to call a halt to the U.S.–Soviet competition. Any attempt to match SDI would have done irreparable harm to the Soviet economy, Gorbachev concluded. The evidence that SDI was one of the masterstrokes of our time is becoming overwhelming. Don't expect to read about it in the *New York Times*, though. The *Times* omitted the point in its coverage of the conference.

■ One reason so few decisions have been made about leadership slots at the Department of Education below those occupied by former Governors Richard Riley and Madeleine Kunin is that the department is slated to get more than its "quota" of affirmative-action hires, compensating for agencies whose leaders have resisted being saddled with individuals chosen chiefly for their race, gender, sexual preference, and interest-group backing. Not so Riley, whose first staff meeting began with a demand for every unit within the department to submit a race and gender body count. Meanwhile, the policy shots are being called by Carter retread Marshall Smith, dean of Stanford's school of education, who will probably wind up in a brand-new "undersecretary" slot being crafted especially for him. Smith is smart, Washington-wise, a far shrewder inside player than either of the ex-governors who are his nominal superiors, and totally committed to the education agenda of the Sixties and Seventies. If it's broken, a new federal program will fix it; if it isn't working well, send money; if it displays any signs of spontaneous change, issue a regulation to control it. Meanwhile, test scores continue falling.

■ CIA Director James Woolsey called it "our most grave current concern"—North Korea's headlong drive to build a nuclear weapon. The CIA is now convinced that North Korea has concealed its weapons program from international inspectors and may already have enough plutonium to fuel one bomb, maybe more. Pyongyang is concurrently developing a longer-range ballistic missile and testing biological weapons. It is also led by one of the most fanatical regimes on the face of the earth. The world's apathy at this news is astonishing. North Korea is aiding both Iran's and Syria's missile programs. Its own missile under development could target both South Korea and Japan—crucial allies of the United States, where tens of thousands of U.S. troops are based. Japan, which has renounced nuclear weapons in return for American protection, has always regarded Korean developments as going to the heart of its strategic security. American passivity in the face of such a development—coupled with the general trend of Clinton defense cutbacks—is likely to lead serious Japanese to wonder about the value of such protection. Likewise, the fraternity of thug regimes—Iran, Iraq, Libya, et al.—will draw conclusions from the precedent set by one of their number's reaching this milestone with impunity. Look for the Clinton Administration to call for new inspections (easily evaded), new international agreements (easily violated), new UN meetings (of laughable value), and new ways to consume itself in legalistic handwringing while a strategic revolution is taking place. Our military forces, if they weren't tied down doing charitable work in Somalia, Bosnia, and northern Iraq, might conceivably do something to eliminate the threat. But don't bet on it.

■ Campus Watch: The university is a place of discovery. Hence, Northern Illinois University's "Great Condom Rating Contest." The project is meant to find out "what condoms students are most comfortable with . . . and to break down the idea that there is only one condom out there," explains Michael Haines, the university's coordinator of health-enhancement services. The university distributed a rating sheet and seven condoms to participating students so they could rate them based on comfort, smell, taste, and the user's sense of security. Is this promoting promiscuity? "[A student] has no obligation to use all seven of them," says Mr. Haines.

■ The radical environmentalist organization Greenpeace has always depended crucially on the kindness of the media. But the *Wall Street Journal*'s March 3 front-page story was a particularly compassionate exercise in spin control. Greenpeace is in crisis because of falling contributions and a backlash, even among its liberal allies, against its hysterical propaganda. The *Journal* broke this news gently. No mention that Greenpeace Germany, second only to the U.S. operation in importance, has been rocked by revelations that it was diverting contributions into suspiciously huge cash reserves. Nor of Leslie Spencer's devastating 1991 *Forbes* cover story, which

"How to Get Enthusiastic Applause —Even a Standing Ovation— Every Time You Speak!"

Leadership in all fields today requires you to be an outstanding public speaker

Picture yourself enjoying the smiles and the pleased look of excitement on the faces of your audience.

When you finish speaking, you receive thunderous applause. Several in the audience stand. And then the entire crowd rises spontaneously to give you a standing ovation!

Suppose this response was typical of every speech you were to ever give from here on?

A Must for Leaders

Today, regardless of your field, *you must be able to speak in public*. Convincingly, and persuasively.

It's absolutely necessary to be an outstanding public speaker in any leadership position.

You continually need to address boards and organizations. Customers and colleagues. Bankers and politicians. Associations and private clubs.

"You've got to know how to talk to them. Public speaking is the best way to motivate a large group," says Lee Iaccoca, former CEO of Chrysler.

Doesn't a Good Speech Take Time to Prepare?

Yes! Any good speech usually requires long hours of preparation. Even if you give only a few speeches a year, preparation time is a valid concern.

The solution? A new publication, AMERICAN SPEAKER! You don't have to read every single page, yet you'll save 50% or more of your time with the help of this service. There has never been such a valuable resource ever published before.

Recently introduced, its powerful public speaking principles are now being used by key leaders in business, government, civic organizations, charitable foundations, and the professions.

Put Ronald Reagan's Chief Speechwriter on Your Team

Nine of the best speechwriters in the nation are on the AMERICAN SPEAKER Advisory Board. The editor-in-chief is none other than Aram Bakshian, Jr., speechwriter to three U.S. Presidents.

Imagine having the man who wrote Ronald Reagan's great speeches help you write yours!

Here are former President Reagan's own words in a thank-you letter to Bakshian:

"Your exceptional talents—creativity, eloquence, and wit—have been invaluable to me in communicating our message at home and abroad.

You understood better than anyone else that leadership is not just making decisions, but explaining them clearly and persuasively.

You were always poised with a phrase or thought that captured the essence of an event. I shall always miss that."

— President Ronald Reagan

Imagine having this level of talent available to you. It would cost a minimum of $100,000 yearly to retain just one high-level speechwriter on staff.

Here are a few of the other benefits AMERICAN SPEAKER provides you.

You'll be shown how to:

- Create a powerful opening that immediately gets the attention of your audience.
- Make your body language more fluent and effective, which accounts for a whopping 56% of a speech's audience impact.

Wouldn't you like to get this type of reaction from your next audience? Make your next presentation a smashing success with "American Speaker."

- Use numerous sample speeches and speech modules. Save time! Don't start from scratch.
- Refer to people and events to add power and audience involvement to your speech.
  This popular section is divided into 3 parts:
  1. Current Celebrities. 1,019 popular or notorious people with thumbnail descriptions.
  2. Famous People From the Past. 1,057 celebrated heroes and villains from history.
  3. Today in History. More than 1,000 historical events to add zip to your presentation.
- Compose powerful endings. Your speech will only be as powerful as the ending.
- Use proper etiquette and protocol. You can't be too careful about people's feelings.
- Use the magic of humor in the proper way.
- Get your core message across with aplomb.
- Overcome nervousness with proven techniques.
- Script your speech effectively. Whether you use "outlining," "memorizing," or "full scripting."
- Use the speech archives, which allows you to study the words of the world's best speakers.
- Toasts. Offer moving, gracious, or amusing toasts at exactly the right times.

Here is what Peter Lowe, founder of "Success" seminars, featuring Zig Zigler and Reverend Schuller, has to say:

"AMERICAN SPEAKER is a valuable resource for anyone who, even occasionally, speaks publicly. I feel it is an excellent resource and helps add punch and power to my speeches."

Get Answers to These Important Questions

- What to do if the microphone stops working?
- How do you handle an impatient audience?
- With whom should you have eye contact during your speech?
- How do you avoid the seven worst mistakes?
- What do you do if you drop your pen in the middle of your presentation? Pick it up or not?
- Should you place friends strategically in the audience to gain an advantage?

How Much Is Just One Good Speech Worth?

AMERICAN SPEAKER is exactly the service you need to help you prepare and deliver effective speeches. You'll add new ideas, new quotations, and new inspiration to all your presentations. The service will pay for itself many times over, even if you give just three speeches a year!

Guarantee

Order the 427-page comprehensive guide now at only $97. (Available only from the publisher, not in bookstores.) Review it for 30 days without risk. If AMERICAN SPEAKER doesn't meet your expectations, return it for a prompt and courteous refund. Your satisfaction is completely guaranteed.

Enjoy "The 100 Best Quotations For 1993"—FREE

If you order now, we'll send you the coveted special report, THE HUNDRED BEST QUOTATIONS FOR 1993, absolutely free. It's yours to keep even if you decide to return AMERICAN SPEAKER.

Act now. This is a limited time offer.
Call: (800) 368-0115 24-hours a day,
in D.C. (202) 337-5960.
Fax to: (202) 333-5198, or mail coupon below.

Free Trial Request

YES! Please send me AMERICAN SPEAKER, for a 30-day free trial examination. If I'm not convinced that it will enhance my public speaking effectiveness, I will return it in good condition within 30 days and receive an immediate refund. Otherwise, the price is $97 (postage-paid), a savings of $103 off the regular price of $200.

Also please send me as an outright gift THE HUNDRED BEST QUOTATIONS FOR 1993, which I may keep regardless.

☐ I enclose my check or money order for $97 payable to AMERICAN SPEAKER.

Please charge my credit card:
☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ AmEx

Card # Expires

Signature

Name

Address

City/State/Zip

Send to:
Georgetown Publishing House
Dept. CBC0, 1101 30th St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20007
Phone: (800) 368-0115 Fax: (202) 333-5198

© 1993 Georgetown Publishing House

reported: that Greenpeace's much-mythologized former leader David McTaggart had a long record of questionable real-estate dealings and financial disputes, including over Greenpeace expenses; that Greenpeace's corporate finances were highly centralized and totally secret; that Greenpeace spent vast sums to corrupt the International Whaling Commission; that at least one major Greenpeace propaganda film contained staged scenes of animal torture; that Greenpeace has intimidated journalists and independent scientists through law suits and personal harassment; and that absolutely no Greenpeace money goes to research on pollution elimination. Reaction to Miss Spencer's piece was so intense that Greenpeace had to equip its student army of doorstep fundraisers with a formal reply. Apparently it hasn't helped—and so the *Journal* has.

■ J. Edgar Hoover wore a dress. So Anthony Summers, author of *Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover*, would have us believe. Before you sign the late FBI director up for an alternative St. Patrick Day's parade, however, consider that the chief authority for Mr. Summers's trashfest is Susan Rosenstiel, the fourth wife of a dead liquor tycoon, who also implicates her ex, and her ex's lawyer, Roy Cohn, in Hoover's secret sex life. Yet she engaged in a bitter six-year divorce battle during which none of this came out. She was also found guilty of perjury twenty years ago, and one of the judges of her legal brawls observed that "she stooped to everything and stopped at nothing." Even NBC might squint at a source like this. Whoever the woman in red was, it wasn't Hoover.

■ Thanks to some two hundred paid registrations "off the street," the twentieth Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), in Washington, D.C., February 18–20, had a record-high attendance—over 1,200. (NATIONAL REVIEW was an original co-sponsor of CPAC and remains a co-sponsor.) David Keene of the American Conservative Union, the CPAC chairman, was quick to thank President Clinton for helping make the conference a success.

■ Making the rounds in D.C.: If Bill and Hillary divorce, who gets the house?

Coolness under Fire

REPUBLICANS face a fork in the road in their approach to President Clinton's economic proposals. The first path leads toward a grand GOP counter-proposal, a course endorsed by Jack Kemp on *Meet the Press* ("The purpose of the Republican Party is [not] to be an opposition party. It is to propose"), and implicitly recommended by all the liberals telling Republicans to put up or shut up. The second would direct the GOP down a path of tactical skirmishing, and seems to be the direction favored by congressional establishmentarians such as Bob Michel ("Democrats want us to cough up one package in its entirety, but I think it's preferable for us to do it in pieces").

The temptation to take on the President directly is powerful, particularly in the light of poll numbers which, despite the media's best efforts to massage them, suggest real problems ahead for the Clinton plan. A *Washington Post*/ABC poll, headlined by the *Post* "Clinton Plan Enjoys Strong Public Support," shows that the support it enjoys is based on expectations that are bound to be disappointed: 57 per cent believe that Mr. Clinton's proposals will decrease the deficit; only 17 per cent believe the proposals will hurt them "a great deal"; 58 per cent say Mr. Clinton didn't go far enough in raising taxes on "the wealthy" (i.e., on everybody else). Meanwhile, 57 per cent say he went too far in raising taxes on "average Americans" (i.e., on me); 60 per cent say the cost of operating the Federal Government should be cut more than he proposed; 68 per cent think he didn't go far enough in reducing the federal budget deficit; and a whopping 75 per cent believe he didn't go far enough in reducing federal spending. As time highlights the consequences of Clintonomics, the President will become more vulnerable. As it is, he has a disapproval rating—33 per cent—twice as high as those of Ronald Reagan and George Bush at comparable points in their Presidencies.

Nevertheless, mindful of all the battles since Hastings which have been lost by impetuous charges, we believe that wisdom in this instance lies with the GOP establishment. The Republicans, *pace* Jack Kemp, are for the moment an opposition party, whether they like it or not. The ball is in Bill Clinton's court. Democracy has given him and his party control of the two elected branches of the Federal Government (a status last enjoyed by the Republicans in 1954). He ran on a detailed platform of promises, many of them absurd or contradictory, but that is now his problem.

There are two dangers in making a grand GOP

Is There a Plan B?

As the parachutes, dropped from our fleet
At a sensible ten thousand feet,
Draw Mohammedans from
Their redoubts (which is dumb),
They get shot, while the Serbs get to eat.

W. H. VON DREELE

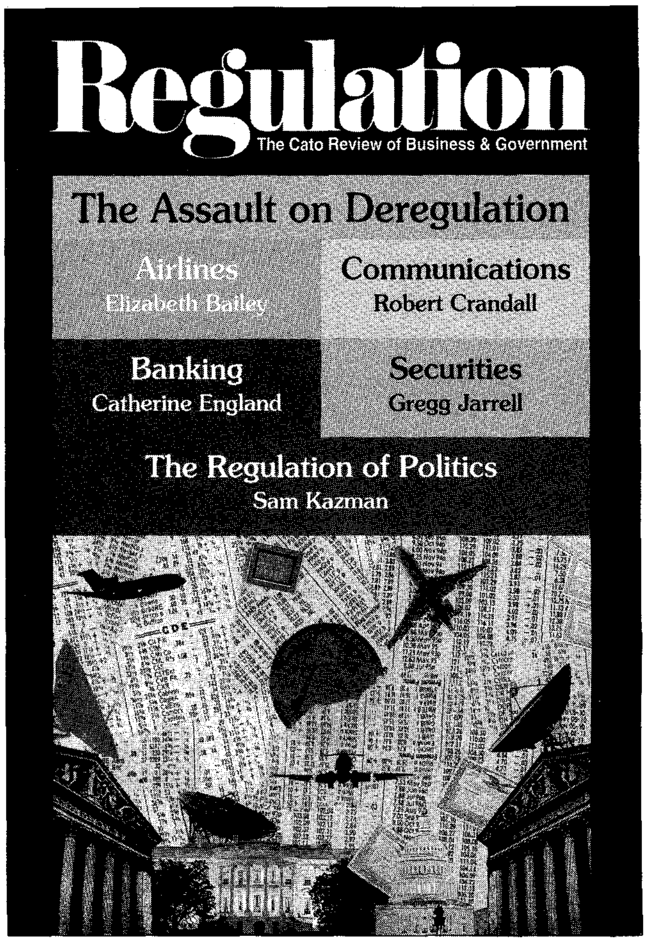
You don't really know the world of government and business until you know about . . .

Regulation

The Federal Register was 62,920 pages long last year, and every year there are more and more rules and regulations for businesses and the American people to live with. What will this mean to you? Your business? To stay on top of the often bewildering world of government regulations and their effect on America's business climate and all of our lives, you need *Regulation*, the Cato review of business and government.

Regulation stimulated the regulatory reform debate of the past two decades, and as the Clinton era dawns it will be all the more important to know what the government's regulatory actions will really mean. Four times a year, *Regulation* brings you leading policy experts and government officials to discuss and analyze the important regulatory policy issues of the day. *Regulation* delivers a rare combination—thorough and in-depth treatment of often complicated issues that is also lively and readable.

> "People have a choice. You can see government actions interpreted by journalists from a political point of view or you can see the real economic effects of government actions in *Regulation*. I choose *Regulation*."
>
> —James L. Johnston
> Former Senior Economist, Amoco Corporation



Regulation
The Cato Review of Business & Government

The Assault on Deregulation

Airlines
Elizabeth Bailey

Communications
Robert Crandall

Banking
Catherine England

Securities
Gregg Jarrell

The Regulation of Politics
Sam Kazman

☐ **YES!** I need to know how government regulation affects me, my business, and the economy.
Please send me a year's worth of **Regulation** magazine.

☐ Check for $18.00 is enclosed (payable to Cato Institute).
☐ Charge my ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ____________________
Signature ______________________ Exp. Date __________
Name ____
Affiliation _______________________________________
Address ____
City ____________________ State ______ Zip __________
Phone (_____) ______________ Fax (_____) ______________

Cato Institute, 224 Second Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 546-0200 • Fax (202) 546-0728

CATO INSTITUTE

counter-offer. The first is that it would set up a negotiating process likely to drag the Republicans into signing on to an unsatisfactory compromise down the road. The GOP should not be in the position of endorsing bad policies simply because they are a mid-point between worse policies and their own. This would be the legislative equivalent of the "responsible" governing that undid George Bush.

The second danger, in playing for high stakes from a weak position, is becoming rattled. Jack Kemp, who as Bush's HUD Secretary had a four-year preview of the kind of pressures he urges on his fellow Republicans, shows distressing signs of it. In his *Meet the Press* interview, he said he would accept an increase in income-tax rates in return for a capital-gains cut. In passing, he threw in a proposal to ban assault rifles. It is difficult to see the constituency for such a package. Time for a trot to the sidelines and a cup of Gatorade.

There are, after all, great opportunities—and no necessity for a single program—in opposition. Let a hundred flowers bloom. Individual Republicans can come up with large alternatives, such as the Gramm–Armey proposal, or piecemeal amendments, in the manner of Bob Michel, or simple effective criticisms like those of Representative John Kasich (Ohio). In doing so, they will attract the support of a wider range of people than any single Republican alternative could hope to arouse. And they will become a more interesting party thereby. For the moment, what the GOP most needs to show is coolness under fire—a coolness encouraged by the thought that the Democrats will soon be feeling the heat.

Round Up the Usual Suspects

CERTAIN to be given respectful attention by the Congress this year is the "Violence Against Women Act" sponsored by Senator Biden. Its very title assures it a majority in the "world's greatest deliberative body." VAWA is an attempt to sidetrack the public's obvious frustration with crime levels by "making violent crime against women a major law enforcement priority."

Not violent crime generally, mark, but violent crime against women. Though inspired by feminism, the bill would be better justified on the chivalrous grounds that men can look after themselves, but they have a duty to protect the little lady. Of course, because liberals cannot bring themselves to tackle crime seriously, the bill would increase spending, regulation, bureaucracy, and symbolism far more than it would increase public safety.

It would double penalties for federal cases of rape (currently a dozen or so each year on Sioux Indian reservations or at Andrews Air Force Base); create "High Intensity Violence Against Women Areas" to which federal grants will flow; invest federal funds in lights for parks and subway stations; encourage states to "increase arrest and prosecution rates" for violence against women; and require colleges to prohibit and report all violent crimes against women. It would also create the first federal law barring spouse abuse, thereby bringing the FBI into such investigations, and categorize violence against women as "bias or hate crimes."

But there is more. As with much of liberal legislation, the aim of the VAWA is less to protect the public than to re-educate it. VAWA would afflict us everywhere with feminist rhetoric. There would be rape education seminars directed at "date rapists"; education programs about gender bias for judges; youth education programs about violence "among intimate partners"; education programs about domestic-violence myths among racial and ethnic groups; and grants directed toward overcoming sexual stereotyping and the "physical, psychological, and economic impact of rape and sexual assault."

VAWA is a caricature of anti-crime legislation and trivializes the serious matter of violent crime. The Republicans would do well to reply to this initiative with a strong equal-opportunity anti-crime measure—and to ask, as the Democrats would do if the roles were reversed, why their opponents don't seem concerned about attacks on children and law-abiding men.

Brave New Words

A FEW WEEKS AGO, we expressed sympathy for President Clinton, who had campaigned on an admirably strong platform of opposition to Serbian aggression but who in office found himself boxed in by the Vance–Owen diplomacy, by timid allies, and by recalcitrant Russians. But that sympathy has given way to unease since Secretary of State Warren Christopher unveiled a new U.S.

Résumé Accepted

I don't mean to be unkind,
But Al Gore, who's seen behind
Mr. Clinton every night
Like two Siamese whose plight
(When one contemplates the john)
Turns a Beltway junkie wan,
Got a job that lets him chase
Big-time waste like Mr. Grace.

W. H. VON DREELE

Why aren't liberals in the media smiling anymore?

Because their days of unchecked bias are over. The Media Research Center is reading and listening to what they write and say.

When columnists, elected officials and other opinion leaders want examples of liberal bias, they turn to our publications.

So should you.

The Media Research Center's newsletters and books provide all the proof you'll ever need to demonstrate the news media's liberal bias. And the bias in Hollywood.

You can use the newsletters and books to win arguments with your friends and colleagues. Learn *what* shows to avoid, *which* reporters slant the news, *how* they do it and *why* they do it.

☐ *MediaWatch* ($29 for 12 monthly issues)
☐ *TV,etc.* ($35 for 12 monthly issues)
☐ *Notable Quotables* ($19 for 26 bi-weekly issues)
☐ *And That's the Way it Isn't* ($14.95)
☐ *The Revolving Door* ($7.95)

Total $______________

☐ All three newsletters for one year ($64). Save $19.00!
☐ Bonus offer: All five publications for $82. Save $23.90!

Name ________________________________
Address ________________________________

☐ Check ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard
Card No. ____________________ Exp. Date ______

Media Research Center
Publications Department
113 South West Street, 2nd Floor
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

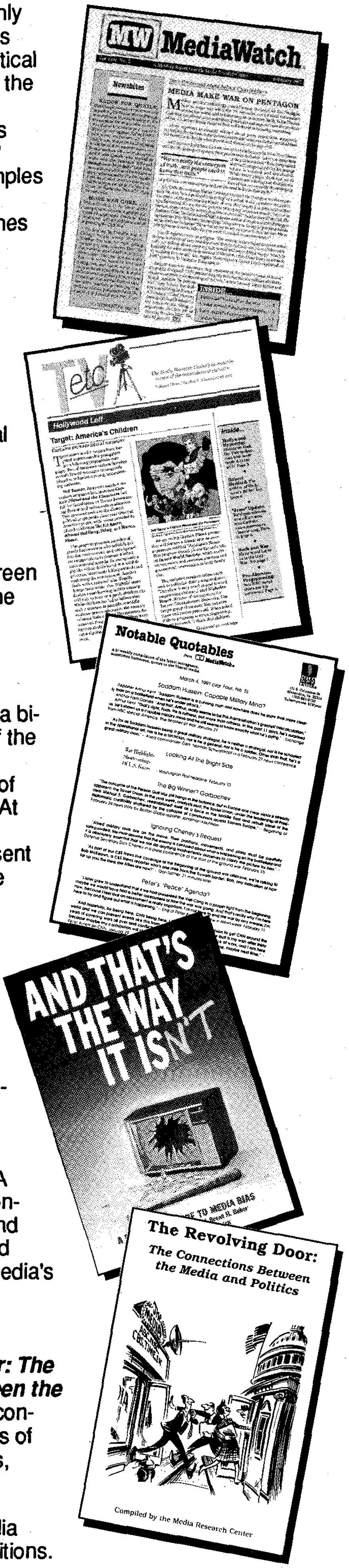
MediaWatch, a monthly newsletter that reviews news coverage of political and current events by the television networks, newspapers and news weeklies. "Newsbites" provide ongoing examples of bias and the "Janet Cooke Award" examines the month's most distorted story. Plus: In-depth studies and analysis.

TV, etc., a monthly newsletter that investigates the liberal issue agenda permeating prime time television, current cinematic fare and record releases and catalogues the off-screen political activities of the Hollywood Left.

Notable Quotables, a bi-weekly compilation of the most outrageous and humorous examples of bias from the media. At year-end the Linda Ellerbee Awards present the best quotes of the year.

And That's the Way It Isn't: A Reference Guide to Media Bias provides 350 pages of summaries, excerpts and reprints of 45 studies that demonstrate the media's liberal bias. A one-stop resource containing all the facts and figures, examples and quotes proving the media's bias.

The Revolving Door: The Connections Between the Media and Politics contains brief biographies of 237 reporters, editors, producers and news executives who have rotated between media jobs and political positions.


MW MediaWatch
Newsbites
MEDIA MAKE WAR ON PENTAGON
TV etc.
Hollywood Left
Target: America's Children
Notable Quotables
AND THAT'S THE WAY IT ISN'T
A REFERENCE GUIDE TO MEDIA BIAS
The Revolving Door: The Connections Between the Media and Politics
Compiled by the Media Research Center

policy toward the former Yugoslavia and the President ordered U.S. aircraft to join in airdrops of relief supplies in Bosnia.

Having lambasted George Bush as insensitive to human suffering, the new Administration offers the brave new words of a vigorous American engagement. The U.S. will now be an active sponsor of the negotiations; we will build on the Vance–Owen plan, which would roll back some of the Serbs' military gains (and which the Administration six weeks ago did not think rolled them back enough); we will also support war-crimes trials.

But Mr. Christopher, having staked the prestige of the United States on these ambitious new goals, was breathtakingly feeble when it came to the means (as Peter Rodman points out in this issue, page 28). Mr. Christopher confined himself to tightening economic sanctions and promising to inflict the "full weight of American diplomacy." He ruled out any more coercive steps, and he even reached out to the Russians (Serbia's main backer) to join us in the search for compromise. This is a high-minded program which positively oozes ineffectuality. How he expects Serbian leaders, whom we have already branded war criminals, to accept a settlement that includes pushing them back from their military gains, let alone putting them on trial, is beyond us.

The airdrops are a decent gesture. Intended originally as a way to help the Muslims under siege, they ended up being offered to all sides lest the Serbs shoot down the planes. Although they serve no identifiable U.S. (or, come to think of it, any other) interest, they have deepened America's moral involvement—and pressures are mounting from the UN to do more.

Defense Secretary Les Aspin reassured us on the Brinkley show that no deeper U.S. military engagement is contemplated. But his rationale was less than reassuring: "I think that you take the thing one step at a time, you pursue the policy. If that doesn't

RIGHT DATA

Mr. Clinton's Prescription

"THE PHARMACEUTICAL industry is spending $1 billion more each year on advertising and lobbying than it does on developing new and better drugs. Meanwhile, its profits are rising at four times the rate of the average Fortune 500 company."

The President's statistical indictment of the drug industry ignores crucial evidence to the contrary. *Most* industries spend far more on marketing their products than on developing them. The drug industry spends about equal amounts on each—a ratio more than justified by the number of new products that require detailed explanation.

Since 1982, drug-industry profits have averaged about 13.5 per cent of sales, according to the Department of Commerce. That's slightly above the profit rate for the soap, food, and soda industries. And with only one out of every four thousand drugs screened making it to the market, the industry probably doesn't offer investors a rate of return commensurate with the risks involved.

Nevertheless, Mr. Clinton's remarks suggest that drug companies will bear the brunt of his near-term efforts at cost control. Senator Pryor (D., Ark.) has already introduced legislation to curtail tax benefits of drug companies that raise prices faster than the CPI. In the proposed vaccination program for children, drug makers will probably be required to provide vaccines at whatever price the government deems reasonable.

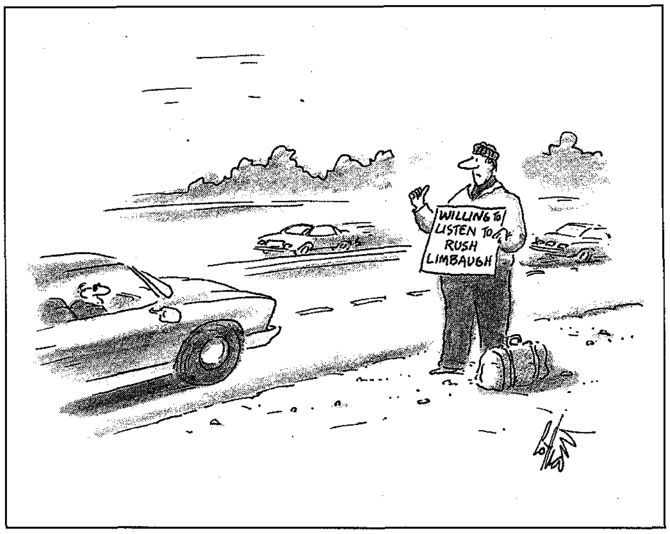
The political rationale is obvious: Unlike doctor or hospital bills, drug expenses are usually paid out of the patient's pocket. Medicare, for example, doesn't cover prescriptions.

In purely economic terms, however, the drug industry is an odd first target. Since 1965 drug prices have risen only two-thirds as fast as the prices for all medical care; pharmaceutical costs have declined from 8.9 per cent of overall health-care spending in 1965 to 4.8 per cent in 1991. Americans spend a smaller fraction of GDP on prescriptions than Germans, Frenchmen, or Japanese. Even Canada, where the government controls drug prices, could do no better than match the U.S., at 1 per cent of GDP.

Furthermore, much of the rise in prescription prices is unrelated to actions taken by drug companies. Almost the entire rise in the price of whooping-cough vaccine (up 6,000 per cent since 1970) has been attributed to the courts. Drug companies have been forced to buy hefty liability insurance, even though the vaccine was found to be safe.

Seven conditions—osteoporosis, diabetes, depression, arthritis, Alzheimer's disease, cardiovascular diseases, and cancer—account for more than half of total health-care costs in the United States. There are 262 drugs currently being developed for these seven conditions. New drugs have already eliminated the need for most ulcer surgery and have reduced the costs of treating schizophrenia.

Bashing the pharmaceutical industry may kill the only truly painless way to control health-care costs. —ED RUBENSTEIN work . . . well, then you have to look at the issue again." But it is extremely risky to plunge down the road of military involvement without thinking through what we want and how we can achieve it. George Bush thought ahead and, in effect, decided that America would not get involved militarily. Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher thought ahead and advanced serious military options to reverse Serbian aggression. Bill Clinton and Warren Christopher are seeking Reagan–Thatcher aims by employing Bush's methods.


WILLING TO LISTEN TO RUSH LIMBAUGH

Back to the Drawing Board

ALL THAT promised federal lucre for infrastructure comes with strings. Richard D. Wilson, a senior official at the Environmental Protection Agency, recently informed several states that the agency will block their federal road money if they don't implement a controversial new emissions inspection system called IM240. The states are balking at IM240—both because it would cost more than four times as much as the current emissions testing system and because it appears not to work very well.

A General Accounting Office survey of a pilot IM240 program in Hamilton, Indiana, found it inconsistent in its readings. A significant percentage of cars failed the test one time but passed it another. The GAO report concluded also that there is insufficient technical understanding of what needs to be repaired in a car to get it to pass the test. Furthermore, the IM240 testing equipment will be too expensive for normal repair shops to buy. So the scheme will require motorists to go to the test station, then when they fail (expected to be about 30 per cent of the time), get repairs, then return to the IM240 station for retesting, and so on. Statistical probabilities suggest that some motorists will be yo-yo-ed back and forth between test and repair stations all day. With $40 or so and maybe an hour involved in each cycle, they are likely to get irritated in the process.

Virginia State Delegate Robert Harris (Fairfax County) says: "You get 20 to 30 per cent of the people rejected, and the political firestorm will be unbelievable." He should know. When the state tried to impose an HOV-3 (High Occupancy Vehicle carrying three persons) lane restriction last year on the Dulles Airport tollroad, there was massive civil disobedience. Virginia commuters not only inundated the government with written protests, but honked their horns at police who pulled over HOV violators and yelled abuse. Finally they boycotted the tollroad altogether. The restrictions were removed within weeks. Whether a remote and self-righteous bureaucracy like the EPA would prove so responsive is, of course, another question.

M. E. Bradford, R I P

THE MUCH too early death of M. E. Bradford constitutes a very large loss to American letters. A superb prose stylist, a fine literary critic, a social philosopher, and a profound if combative student of the Constitution, Bradford leaves a gap that cannot readily be supplied.

"An American Plutarch," I described him in the preface to one of his major works, *A Better Guide than Reason*, "a Confederate Voegelin. Such characterizations of M. E. Bradford seem inevitable. They suggest the importance and seriousness of his work, the fact that he is profoundly rooted in the traditions of Western civilization, Roman and Biblical and regional."

At the root of Bradford's thought was the Roman idea of *habitus*, a "way of life." The concept of *habitus* was, for Bradford, indeed "a better guide than reason." It is the troubling case of rational argument that any of its propositions can ultimately be forced back to assumptions that cannot be rationally proved. To the assertion "Thou shalt not steal," the nihilist on the next barstool will answer, "Sez who?" Bradford would reply a *habitus*, an understood way of life, in which some things were "not done." He could argue theological points with anyone, but at the root was a "way of life." Edmund Burke, Michael Oakeshott, William Faulkner, John Crowe Ransom, and Allen Tate agreed. You get an echo of the *habitus* in that most illiberal pledge of "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Bradford engaged himself in a long and valuable dispute about the legacy of Abraham Lincoln. It boiled down to the question of whether Lincoln was a revolutionary who had fundamentally changed the Constitution. Voting aye were Bradford, Edmund

Wilson, James McPherson, and Garry Wills. Voting nay were Walter Berns, Harry Jaffa, George Will, and, we hazard, a consensus of historians. But Bradford carried on this argument with great good humor and intellectual skill.

In 1981 Bradford was a leading candidate for Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. He failed to achieve that post, and was deeply wounded by the controversy that swirled around him. He did not realize how fortunate he was not to have won that post, for he surely would have been like Allen Tate's Aeneas at Washington:

I stood in the rain, far from home at nightfall
By the Potomac, the great Dome lit the water,
The city my blood had built I knew no more.

Bradford's great contribution was made through his writing, his friendships, and his teaching at the University of Dallas, where he participated in a remarkable program in literature and political thought established by the late Willmoore Kendall. His major work on the writer Donald Davidson remains unfinished. He died in Dallas at age 58 after heart surgery. —JH

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I noted with interest a recent article in the *New York Times* reporting on a study that concluded that the lifespan of male worms could be significantly extended by suppressing their ability to produce and disseminate sperm. My initial reaction to this announcement was mere pleasure in the fact that the Elizabethans, among others, had finally been proved to be correct: that each act of sexual release subtracts from the lifespan of the releaser.

On further reflection, however, I began to detect more interesting possibilities in this research. A colleague of the author of the study was quoted as saying that, although the findings showed a dramatic increase in lifespan for male worms, he did not think it prudent that human males rush to their surgeons for a life-extending testectomy. True, perhaps, but this would not be the first time that people—liberals, mostly—have overreacted to tenuous findings in the area of emissions—consider the current controversy on carbon dioxide and the colliding ice age/greenhouse disaster theories.

Would it not be in our best interests to promote this cause, perhaps in the guise of a health-care issue, as an effective and, for conservatives, painless method of liberal control, whereby young male liberals, just entering college and casting desperately about for a cause to embrace, could demonstrate irrevocably their commitment to life extension? We could, no doubt, rely on the enthusiastic support of feminists in this pursuit. While, admittedly, this plan would have the temporary drawback of even shriller liberal cries concerning whatever issues may be in vogue, by my calculations, the din should peak around the year 2030, then forever cease by mid-century.

Robert A. Gessner
Highland Park, N.J.

Dear Mr. Gessner: 2030? But what if they go on, by their abstinence, to live forever? Did any of those worms . . . move on? Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

The *real* reason for Clinton's win will soon be disclosed in a book by a colleague of mine who is a political scientist. In the mid 1970s, this gentleman, using the relatively primitive computers then available, began to analyze every known variable in American presidential elections from 1920 onward.

After several years of slow, painstaking work, in the fall of 1980 he concluded that any Democrat with a daughter named after an English city or borough could become President, even against seemingly overwhelming odds.

My colleague, a convinced Democrat, presented Jimmy Carter's staff with his analysis, complete with arcane mathematical formulae and statistical tables. Carter's staff in turn had some of the top mathematicians and pollsters in the country examine these. The academicians' unanimous verdict: my colleague had made a brilliant discovery.

Unfortunately, Carter himself proved recalcitrant. In one of the most unselfish renunciations on record, he declined to change his daughter's name, thus forfeiting near-certain victory over Reagan. After all, he noted, would Amy wish to be known for the rest of her life as Carter's Little Liverpool?

Sincerely,
Martin Arbagi
Wright State University
Dayton, Ohio

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

At last! After nearly four years of seminary training and two and a half years in parish work, I fortuitously came across the following Biblical maxim: "The wise man's understanding turns him to his right; the fool's understanding turns him to his left" (*Eccles*. 10:2).

Now why didn't we learn that in seminary?

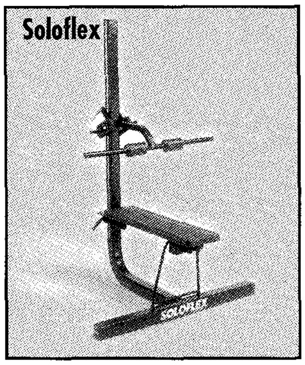
Respectfully,
Michael Moore
Oregon City, Ore.

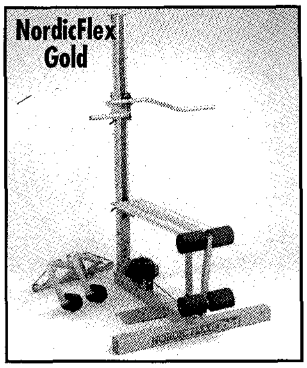
Dear Father Moore: Vatican II decided that such a meaning, imputed to the Left, was sinister. Cordially, **—WFB**

HEALTHMAX™ BEATS SOLOFLEX® AND NORDICFLEX™! COSTS $700 LESS!

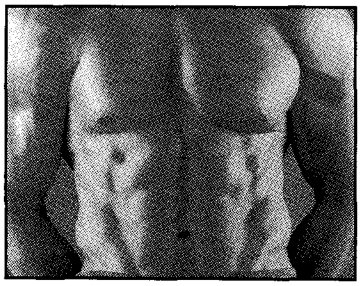
9 Powerful Reasons to Choose **HEALTHMAX** as Your Total-Body Fitness System.

Pay in 8 easy installments of $37.38!





THE REASONS	**HEALTHMAX**	SOLOFLEX	NORDICFLEX GOLD
1 Low price	✓YES **$299** (plus $39 S/H)	✗NO **$1,000** (incl. S/H)	✗NO **$999** (plus $99 S/H)
2 Easy to use	✓YES No assembly/ disassembly required between exercises.	✗NO Requires extensive assembly/disassembly between exercises.	✗NO Requires extensive assembly/disassembly between exercises.
3 Leg Extension Unit included	✓YES Permits both leg extensions and lying leg curls.	✗NO Costs $300 extra.	✓YES, **BUT...**Leg unit included doesn't permit lying leg curls.
4 Butterfly Unit included	✓YES No extra cost.	✗NO Costs $200 extra.	✓YES, **BUT...**You must assemble before each use, and disassemble to use bench press.
5 Strength conditioning for all five major muscle groups	✓YES **HEALTHMAX** strengthens all five: arms, legs, abdominals, back and pectorals.	✗NO Works only 3 of 5 groups. Must purchase additional accessories to achieve all 5.	✓YES, **BUT...**Why would you pay $700 more than **HEALTHMAX**?
6 Comfortable bench	✓YES Padded bench, a full 47" long, comfortable height.	✗NO Padded bench is only 40½" long, making lying down exercises difficult.	✗NO Hard, unpadded 40" bench is too short and too high off the ground.
7 Hydraulic cylinder resistance system	✓YES Adjusts to your personal resistance level with a simple twist of a dial.	✗NO Uses rubber bands which must be changed to vary resistance level.	✗NO Uses awkward, complicated cord/pully/mechanical resistance system.
8 Full refund of return freight if unit returned	✓YES If not satisfied, we will refund your cost, shipping/handling charges, and all return freight!	✗NO You pay over $85 to return. It must go by truck to Oregon!	✗NO You pay about $27 to return by UPS.
9 Payable in installments	✓YES 8 easy installments of just $37.38! ($39.00 S/H added to first installment.)	✓YES **BUT...**You pay $39 per month for the next *2 YEARS!*	✓YES **BUT...** At 4 payments of $250, each installment is almost as much as the total cost of a **HEALTHMAX**!



When you compare, the choice is easy...it's HEALTHMAX!

Let's face it, when all is said and done, what you really want is a body like this. Until now, that meant spending $1,000 or more for a Soloflex or NordicFlex. But now the secret is out... **HEALTHMAX** does what the others do—and more—for $700 less! So call today to get the hard body you want for just $299. And while you're at it, take the $700 you'll save and buy yourself a reward.

CALL TOLL-FREE FOR A 30-DAY NO-RISK HOME TRIAL:

1-800-367-4534 Ext. 638-1110

HEALTHMAX™
47 Richards Avenue • Norwalk, CT 06857

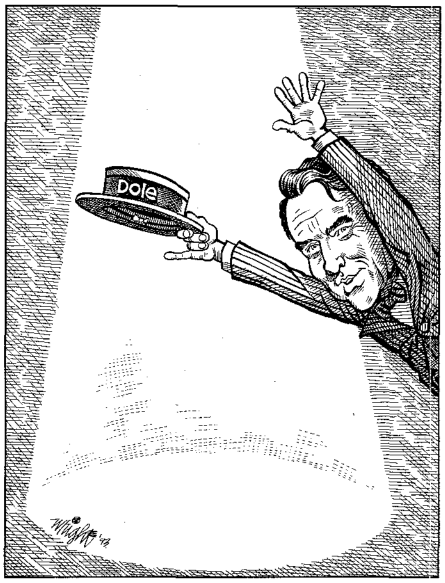
NordicFlex is a trademark of NordicTrack, Inc.
Soloflex is a registered trademark of Soloflex, Inc.

©1993 MBI

ON THE SCENE

Dole on a Roll

BRIT HUME



Dick Wright

WASHINGTON, D.C.

BRIEFING reporters on February 24, presidential spokesman George Stephanopoulos dismissed the assertion by Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole that the Clinton economic plan was in trouble because it contained too much in taxes, too little in spending cuts. Dole and the Republicans, he said, had done "a good job of carping and whining, but they can't come up with any alternative."

Dole was not amused. An aide reported that the senator "thinks the White House is being run by a bunch of MTV kids having an excellent adventure." In the Senate the next day, Dole himself offered "a word of advice to the communications department down at the White House . . . calm down, go off for a weekend, have a Diet Coke." Accusations of whining and carping, Dole added, "may have been good campaign talk, but we're going to be around here for three years and 11 months and we want to cooperate with the President of the United States."

That afternoon, the 32-year-old Stephanopoulos telephoned the 69-year-old Dole's office. Dole was out, but Stephanopoulos sent word that the senator had "a fair point," that Stephanopoulos should have confined his comments to "actions, not personalities." He later explained to a reporter that Dole is "very smart, and actually one of the nice people up there." When the President came to the Senate GOP leadership lunch the next week, Dole made light of the whole thing, telling Mr. Clinton that he would "buy Dr. Stephanopoulos a Diet Coke." Everyone laughed.

The incident was over, but it illustrated a point: Bob Dole is the most important Republican in Bill Clinton's Washington. His party may control neither the White House nor Congress. But Dole is still a sufficiently feared legislative and political tactician that not even the confident young whippersnappers in the Administration wish to antagonize him unnecessarily. After two failed runs for President and one for Vice President, after 12 years of carrying water for Ronald Reagan and George Bush, Bob Dole now considers himself, as one of his aides exuberantly put it, "the number-one policymaker for Republicans in America." His onetime rivals, Bush, Reagan, and (for now at least) the hated Kemp, are gone from the scene. Dole, rushing to fill the void, has been everywhere. From mid February till the end of the month, as debate began on the Clinton plan, Dole turned up 11 times on the morning and Sunday TV talk shows. The day after the President's speech to Congress, Dole was on three network morning news shows. The Clinton plan, he said, was a "very taxing program." Its spending cuts? "I can't find them, except for defense," he said. As for the economy, we're in "the Bush recovery."

Some think Dole still has his eye on the White House, but he's actually intent on a nearer and more realistic goal—Republican recapture of the Senate in the 1994 elections. Twenty-two Democratic seats will be contested, only 11 Republican. Between that arithmetic and the historic trend toward the out-party in off-year elections, it's a promising bet, especially if Dole can position congressional Republicans to make the most of the political gift Mr. Clinton has bestowed on them: the return of the tax issue. On that, however, Dole's prospects are much less certain.

For one thing, he is having trouble keeping some of his more outspoken charges in line. They include Trent Lott, number-four man in the GOP Senate leadership, and Phil Gramm. Both men have their own agendas and own ambitions. Lott wants Dole's job, and Gramm wants Clinton's. Both want a more aggressive approach to the Clinton program than Dole has yet been willing to take.

For now, Dole wants to keep debate focused on the Clinton program. He sees the White House demand that Republicans produce an alternative as a trap, an effort to shift the spotlight onto Republican austerity proposals and away from Clinton's taxes.

Dole may well be right, and Trent Lott may be the best example. Questioning Budget Director Leon Panetta at a hearing February 19, Lott produced from his pocket what he said was a list of budget cuts. Panetta asked to see it. Lott, seeming suddenly to realize what that could lead to, put the list back in his pocket. The Clinton team has since had a field day, citing this as evidence that Republicans aren't serious about spending cuts.

For his part, Phil Gramm insists he "feels very good about Dole's leadership" and agrees with his approach to the Clinton plan. Indeed, he says that was just what he had in mind when he proposed an amendment to it on February 25. The amendment would cut out all the President's proposed new spending, keep the spending "caps" contained in the 1990 budget agreement, and cut out nearly all the proposed tax increases of the Clinton program. Gramm insisted his amendment was "debate-provoking," but it quickly

---

Mr. Hume is chief White House correspondent for ABC News.

became a target for the White House. Stephanopoulos noted that the Gramm amendment contained new taxes (the corporate rate increase) and depended on what he called the "phony" spending caps of the 1990 budget deal. "It's not serious," he said.

Privately, Dole thought Lott and Gramm screwed up, and he wishes both, especially Gramm, would shut up. They won't. The friction between them and Dole goes much deeper than shadings of disagreements over tactics. Gramm and Lott are anti-big-government conservatives who distrust Dole. They see him, and his close ally on economic issues, Pete Domenici, as far too fixated on cutting the deficit, by whatever means. They also think he's far too ready to compromise with the Democrats. They haven't forgotten Dole's attitude toward the Reagan tax cuts. "We might do one year of Kemp–Roth," was Dole's standard, grudging line about the proposed three-year supply-side tax cut. It was no secret that he thought it was a kooky idea, even for one year, and that Kemp himself, the plan's originator, was a kook. He still thinks so.

Nor have conservatives forgotten Dole's role in pushing the massive 1982 tax increase. They also remember the fabled night in 1986 when he brought the ailing Senator Pete Wilson to the Senate chamber in a wheelchair to cast a decisive vote for a package of taxes and spending cuts, which contained a freeze on all cost-of-living adjustments, Social Security included. Right or wrong, it was a courageous effort on Dole's part, but one that proved too much for House Republicans. Remembering their losses in the 1982 elections, largely on the issue of Social Security cuts, they refused to go along, and the Reagan White House bailed out too.

Small wonder, then, that Dole doesn't want any lectures from George Stephanopoulos on being serious about the deficit. Small wonder too that he's having trouble with the conservatives in his own ranks. It's for the same reason. Dole has always been serious about the deficit. The trouble is, he has repeatedly embraced higher taxes in the hope of reducing it. That's why, when George Bush attacked him in New Hampshire in 1988 for refusing to take a no-tax pledge, the charge stuck. It may have cost Dole the Republican nomination. Now Dole wants to lead his party's comeback after a presidential election lost, in part, because Bush broke that no-tax pledge. The Republicans have a chance because Bill Clinton has broken *his* no-tax pledge to the middle class. Bob Dole may be the man who can make make the most of that, but it won't be easy. ☐

The Trial of Erich Honecker

MELVIN J. LASKY

BERLIN

AND THEN suddenly he was scot-free, bundled into an official limousine and speeded to the airport. A day later he was in Chile, in the bosom of his exiled family. The Berlin court had heard the appeal to end the "cruelty" of the trial of Erich Honecker and made its favorable decision hurriedly, precluding any appeal to a higher court; the villain made a quick getaway.

In Germany the dénouement was greeted by a groan of surprise and dismay. Was the sentimental factor of the "human dignity" of an ailing old man such an overwhelming constitutional consideration? Could anyone find a relevant precedent in the case books? (Quite the contrary. Nazi war criminals were sentenced in their dotage; and the memories were embarrassingly fresh of the 93-year-old wraith in Spandau, Rudolf Hess, finally committing suicide after vainly waiting for death.) Wasn't the Moabit prison hospital clean and competent enough to handle any medical problems? Or was the free mountain air of faraway Chile the only solution?

The newly unified German Republic, faced with the problem of meting out justice to the boss of a hateful totalitarian dictatorship imposed by a foreign tyranny, simply broke down in open court. The Germans of our day are seen to be chronically reluctant to make "a clean sweep," as the Anglo-American military governors had done with the Third Reich in 1945. Allied army commanders could command, and de-Nazification tribunals could run for years.

The new German society, by contrast, is unable, or unwilling, or not imprudent enough to go in for any kind of de-Bolshevization—even though the old Party faithful have reconstituted themselves, enjoy some millions left over in secret treasuries, make speeches in the *Bundestag*, and, through a vast old-boy network, continue to exercise a nefarious influence in commerce, culture, and other unpurged areas of Eastern life.

UNDER the Ulbricht and Honecker regimes there were four decades of a secret-police state, with crimes and corruption galore. Who now is guilty? Stalin is long since dead, and so is the reprehensible Walter Ulbricht. Could they get something on General Mielke, the secret-police chief? But did he do anything wrong under the laws and constitution of the Communist DDR state? Chancellor Kohl had conceded in the German Unity Treaty that not Western law nor natural justice but only the DDR canon would obtain in Eastern criminal cases. So Mielke is on trial for fatally wounding a few Weimar policemen in a riot in 1931!

Could they, conceivably, get the goods on spy chief Mischa Wolf? He had run the ingenious agent, Günther Guillaume, who as Chancellor Willy Brandt's private secretary had access to all Bonn secrets. But since when is it a treasonable crime for a recognized nation-state to have a secret service? So Mischa Wolf is still running around free. And so is Colonel Schalck-Golodkowski, who begged, borrowed, and stole billions in cunning financial operations to prop up Honecker's near-bankrupt budget. (In one deal he peddled Old Masters quietly taken from the national museums, sweetening the bargain with lovely antiques which he had rudely sequestered from the few remaining private collections in Dresden and Leipzig.)

To round out the spare and fitful program of democratization: a handful of East German border guards have been prosecuted and sentenced for shooting refugees in the back in no-

---

Mr. Lasky, the distinguished former editor of Encounter *and* Der Monat, *now lives in Berlin.*

man's land. A mayor of Dresden is doing time for civic misdemeanors, and a trade-union boss for having his hand in the union till.

And yet, most of my friends have been outraged by the Honecker affair. Erno Von Loewensterin, deputy editor of *Die Welt*, wrote a column indicting the whole ridiculous spectacle of the mismanaged trial, and calling it "a scandal unprecedented in the history of our republic."

IN ONE court-room report of the scandalizing 12 days, however, in *The New Yorker*'s "Talk of the Town" pages, the author thought she saw "an internal propriety [Honecker] has followed all his life." More than that, as she went on to write:

> The spectators of the trial have a bit of trouble grasping him; they see a villain. They should look more closely, but they cannot. They could see there a Young Communist disguised as an elderly grump. They might even see the remains of a hero, the aftermath of heroism.

This incensed the Berlin correspondent of the *Washington Post*, and he included in his dispatch the following item:

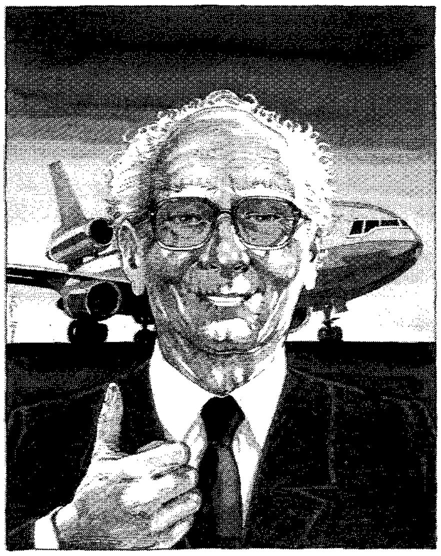
> Although Mr. Honecker himself appeared strong and spoke in a firm voice in his court appearances, his lawyers portray him as virtually crushed by cancer. Mr. Becker's wife [Nicolaus Becker was Honecker's defense lawyer] even wrote an unsigned article in *The New Yorker* magazine deriding the victims' lawyer as a "petit bourgeois," calling Mr. Honecker "a hero" and divulging details of in-camera meetings of the trial judges, her husband, and other lawyers in the case.

Mrs. Becker—who in real life, as she insists, is the American novelist Irene Dische—gave the *Post* hell. She berated the low ethical standards of U.S. journalism, and retaliated against Marc Fisher, the *Post* correspondent, by writing in a private letter (to David Ignatius, at that time the *Post*'s foreign news editor) which she thought fit to make public: "You have *ein Arschloch* working at the *Post*." With slightly more elegance she rejected the notion that readers might want to know that the author of an article calling Mr. Honecker "a hero" was married to his defense lawyer.

So it might be useful to dispose of a few of the myths about the defendant who got away.

1. *The Hero of 1933*. In *The New Yorker* Miss Dische writes of Honecker as "an unbridled opponent of the Third Reich," and detects "still fresh, boyish enthusiasm for Communism." Everybody who suffered in Gestapo prisons, including thousands of Honecker's Communist comrades, deserves sympathy. But the Party line at the time Hitler took power was not conspicuously anti-Nazi, and there were many instances of the KPD joining hands with the NSDAP to subvert the Weimar Republic. Honecker was not arrested until 1935, when Stalin's line had changed and now a broad Popular Front was to fight "against war and fascism," mainly represented by the *Führer*'s imperialism.

In his various Gestapo prisons Honecker was a cunningly devious organizer of an underground network; when thirty and forty years later his secret police were in charge of these very same penitentiaries (including the Buchenwald concentration camp) there were no laxities to allow for comparable human and political contact. I once asked Walter Janka, a lifelong Communist who sat out two jail sentences, one in the Hitler *Reich* and one in the DDR, to compare the two stretches. He confessed, to my surprise, that "our own Communist prisons were much the worse." As a prisoner himself, Honecker, the skillful functionary, fashioned a working apparatus under the noses of the Nazi guards; inmates had newspapers, even discussion sessions. They had talked about the Moscow change of line in 1935, but then came the shock of 1939—not so much the War but the Hitler–Stalin Pact which immediately preceded it.


Fred Carlson

All but a few of Honecker's comrades, at home and abroad, accepted the shameful change of line without a murmur; in Paris Maurice Thorez abandoned the struggle against Hitler; in London the emigrants celebrated, in Honecker's phrase, "Stalin's diplomatic triumph"; and the Communist movement went all out to denounce "Anglo-American imperialism" as the new "main enemy." The anti-Nazism which some think to be "consistent" and "heroic" was only resumed, in yet another about-face, two years later when Hitler launched war against Soviet Russia.

2. *The Visionary of 1945*. We are told to believe that when the War ended, and Honecker emerged free in the Berlin ruins, there was a rosy prospect for a radiant dawn. Miss Dische writes: "Visions of a workers' paradise danced in their heads. It must have been a thrilling time of utopian hope—comparable, perhaps, to the moment which Havel came to power in Czechoslovakia." This is as ignorant as it is naïve. The "Year Zero" (*das Jahr Null*), as it is called, was a time of hunger and trauma, chilling insecurity and terror (in the Eastern zone). I was there at the time; and I talked to poor women who had been raped by the thousands; to Social Democrats and other anti-Nazi dissidents who were awaiting a visit from the GPU/NKVD; to little local bureaucrats of whatever political stripe who had nothing more thrilling on their minds but to carry out impeccably the strict commands of Big Brother. Ulbricht (back from Moscow) and Honecker (back in open Party work), had only one vision, and it danced the *gopak*: the Red Army's power would guarantee a ruling Communist regime in Germany (in half of it or all of it), modeled after Stalin's blueprint, with its Five-Year Plans, secret police, Marxist–Leninist propaganda, and general dreariness.

The impudent reference to Havel and the 1989 liberation from all that would be obscene if it weren't so intellectually helpless—for how can one help a writer who can't tell the difference between one historic moment when peoples are being put into barbed-wire enclosures and another when enraged citizenries tear down walls and wires and watch-towers?

3. *The Verdict of History.* Irene Dische offers the following evaluation of "the evils of the German Democratic Republic": "its petty kinds of repression, more often found in families than in states, with mutual tattling, policing, and what amounted to an individualized low-level brutality." Tattling? This schoolgirl vocabulary might have been tightened up to include "snitching," and even then would be absurdly inadequate to describe the vicious ingenuity of the Honecker–Mielke system of internal espionage with its 100,000-strong corps (some extended family!) of well-placed agents and double-dealing informers. The *Stasi* program of *Zersetzung* (decomposition) ruined careers, marriages, and lives.

Is it a sign of *New Yorker* sophistication to be pleading good intentions on the road to hell? Miss Dische writes: "Neither old age nor years of authority seem to have altered Honecker's ideals." If so, it would be evidence—in the face of such a personal disaster and political defeat—not so much of steadfast high-minded principles as of a deadening paranoiac dogmatism.

IN THE final analysis, as Honecker and all Marxists liked to say (as if there ever was such a thing), what role did features of personality play in the historic correlation of forces? The Communist system in the Soviet Empire was in a long decline and was fated to disintegrate sooner or later. Stupidity was a factor, as fundamentally mindless leaders failed repeatedly to make an unworkable system work. Character defects played a role, as comrades betrayed each other in sickly plots and counterplots. I am told that alcoholism was decisive in the absurd and dangerous move of sending Soviet troops into Afghanistan (just to solve a minor tribal crisis in the local Party leadership); and jealous rivalries were involved in forcing the Red Army generals to admit that they had had their noses bloodied and had no way out but to retreat. A realistic look at military adventurism then led to a sharper and more open awareness of economic stagnation, technological backwardness, social deprivation, ecological ruin, etc. Gorbachev's *glasnost* opened up a Pandora's box of evils which no regime could face and survive. His desperate and fateful illusion was that the old system could be reformed; it couldn't.

Erich Honecker was shrewd enough to know that tinkering could be a mortal danger. He was, mostly, a dour and undeviating dogmatist; but, on occasion, he could flash an honest bit of wit. In Moscow, powerless, friendless, hiding in the Chilean Embassy, he looked back on his fruitless record and once conceded that, yes, we had no bananas . . . and that shortage, perhaps, was his most grievous shortcoming.

No, where he basically failed was in his inability, in the climax of the drama of 1989, to act in the manner which he had been accustomed to think was second nature to a Bolshevik. On May 3, 1974, according to the official DDR transcript (which formed the basis of the Moabit trial), he demanded that "weapons be ruthlessly employed" (*von der Schusswaffe rücksichtslos Gebrauch zu machen*) and that in the event of political necessity "every comrade who successfully uses his gun should be praised." The Berlin prosecutors were persuaded that the case could be convincingly made, not only against the low-down-the-line border guards who shot the refugees on the run and then doctored the records and tried to hide the bodies (they had sixty well-documented dossiers) but also against the shoot-to-kill commander, namely Erich Honecker, chairman of the DDR's National Defense Council. They never got to make their case.

The trial—had it been allowed to go on—would have produced a lot of surprises, sensational for the press. I heard one of the Eastern doctors, a confidant of the *Stasi* police, say that before he went ahead and operated successfully on Honecker's kidney cancer in 1990, "certain higher-ups" tried to persuade him not to undertake treatment or surgery but to "allow him to die." And Honecker's defense would inevitably have embarrassed his Western friends in the détente era who thought him a pillar of strength for peace, stability, and economic well-being (a bit much to swallow, but it was swallowed).

In the long life of the man I suspect there was one single, secret turning-point: the death of Stalin in March 1953. I watched the obsequies in Berlin, and although I did not pay special attention to young Honecker (after all, I had to register the tears running down the cheeks of President Pieck and Prime Minister Grotewohl and Party Chief Ulbricht and also the Red Army generals) I imagine he must have been sincerely sad. He, as so many others in the international movement, would never feel so safe, so secure, so sunny, in the radiant family ever again. ☐

A Bureaucracy Scorned

C. SHELDON SMITH

DES MOINES

DEB BARNETT of Des Moines was excited about taking advantage of Iowa's open-enrollment law, a law that would allow her to send her two children to a neighboring school district. She particularly liked the smaller classes and larger classrooms at an elementary school in suburban Johnston. "I would love for my kids to go to Johnston for that better education, but I can't afford a house there," she said. "That's why I'm using the open-enrollment law."

The law has its limits; only public schools are allowed to compete for tax dollars. Still, it provides additional opportunities for people like Deb Barnett. But last November, Mrs. Barnett's transfer request was denied by a Des Moines school board. She has now joined in an appeal with 85 other Des Moines families who have had their applications turned down by the board.

In 1989 Iowa became just the second state to enact an open-enrollment law. Under the law, state aid equal to more than half of a child's educational costs goes with him to the new school. Liberal legislators, who hoped the bill would force small, rural districts to merge, joined conservatives to pass it.

But the liberals' support did not come cheap. They insisted that a provision be included which would allow districts to deny transfer requests if

---

Mr. Smith is a freelance writer based in Des Moines.

the move would leave the district "racially unbalanced," i.e., if the percentage of minority students in a district would exceed that of the community's minority population by 15 percentage points or more.

Since the law's enactment, only 236 Des Moines students have emigrated from a student population of over 31,000. But the district was feeling the loss of revenue. It had already lost an estimated $1.2 million over the two years of open enrollment ($3,400 per child per year soon adds up), and school officials projected a loss in the next five years of almost $7.5 million.

So last fall the board decided to do something about it. Until then, the board had computed the effect on racial balance school by school; on that basis, only four of the 122 white students' applications for the next school year would have violated the guideline. But now, without prior notification or public debate, the board directed the school superintendent to change the calculation to a district-wide basis. Schools that were "racially balanced" were thus transformed into schools in "racially imbalanced" districts. The board then voted 6 to 1 to deny the transfer requests of all 122 white students while approving those of all six minority students. Board member Sue Luthens proclaimed, "I'm not going to participate in facilitating white flight."

The action resulted in an uproar. Even the liberal *Des Moines Register* was critical: "It's unfair for the Des Moines School Board to suddenly change its interpretation of its own policy . . . in mid-year." One parent responded to the "white flight" charge: "We don't have any bias or prejudice, but we do have a son who needs a better four-year high-school education than he's going to get at East."

Minorities make up 20 per cent of the student population in Des Moines, but account for only 5 per cent of the open-enrollment requests. According to one study, poor and minority families aren't participating because they cannot afford to transport their children to another district, or because they fear their children wouldn't be accepted elsewhere.

But proponents of forced busing for the sake of integration never worry about acceptance. As for transportation costs, the school district already supplies some students with city bus passes to get to school. Even if the school board refuses to supply bus passes to needy kids leaving the district, the city has a bus voucher program for the poor already in place.

Fred Dorr, president of the neighboring West Des Moines board, notes that "There is no particular pattern to which neighborhood Des Moines students leave when enrolling in other districts. . . . How does that information square with the accusation of 'white flight' being passed around by Des Moines board members?"

In particular, there is no reason to think racism is a significant factor in the transfer requests. No reasonable person would label the Clintons racists for opting out of the D.C. public schools.

"Convenience" is the major reason parents give for requesting transfers. One mother applied for a transfer so she could walk her child to kindergarten, a block from where she works. But the bureaucrats think their convenience matters more: "What it does is force nearly all districts to deal with stacks of paperwork," complains curriculum director Robert Slotterback.

And there are undoubtedly other reasons underlying the claim of convenience. Frances Ahrens, a parent who successfully transferred her child before the iron curtain fell, said, "Last year's sixth-grade middle-school experience in Des Moines was riddled with physical abuse, obscene phone calls, and one gun threat, very poor teaching, busing problems—you name it. . . . Racism is not the problem, but rather inadequate curriculum and teaching, poor student discipline, and low staff and student morale."

AND there are already positive results from open enrollment. State Representative Steven Grubbs, chairman of the Education Committee, says, "Across the state, districts are starting to take surveys of what parents want. They're treating parents as customers, and some schools are trying to change."

The parents' appeals were heard in February, and the Des Moines board came prepared. Its lawyers had fanned out to North Carolina, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, videotaping depositions from desegregation experts. "I'd like to know how much they're paying those expert witnesses out there, and why did they have to go clear out to the East Coast to get depositions?" asked Mrs. Barnett. During the hearings, Des Moines superintendent Gary Wegenke conceded that denying all the white students' requests and okaying all the minority students' requests amounted to reverse discrimination. "When you ask it in that framework, I would say yes."

Fortunately for the parents, the open-enrollment controversy has grown into a spitting match between the Des Moines board and adjoining districts. Board member Jonathan Wilson accused the suburban districts of "raping and pillaging" the Des Moines district's coffers. Joseph Drips, superintendent of a district that has assisted parents in filing appeals, counters, "What they have done is not legal. They are trying to save money and the way the law reads, you cannot deny for financial reasons."

Fred Dorr has hinted at legal action if the Iowa Department of Education rules in favor of the Des Moines district, and Jonathan Wilson has hinted likewise if the department rules in favor of the parents. Wilson has already conferred with a legal expert in Washington, D.C. "He said this would be a suitable case in the federal courts."

Meanwhile, the Des Moines board has called for the state legislature to suspend the open-enrollment law while a study is made to determine its impact. But the chances of that happening are about nil. Governor Terry Branstad supports the law, and one of the two chambers in the legislature is controlled by Republicans.

Representative Grubbs declined to speculate on which way the appeals would be decided. He did say that the Des Moines board was within the law in calculating racial balance on a district-wide basis. "However, there are constitutional questions involved," including the *Bakke* precedent.

The developments in Des Moines send mixed signals for the future prospects of school choice. On the one hand, the ferocious response of just one school district is indicative of the struggle families will face in trying to free themselves from the public-education monopoly. On the other hand, maybe there is something to be learned here. Instead of taking on the entire education establishment, perhaps success can be more readily achieved by pitting the education bureaucrats against each other. ☐

The Perils of Wilsonianism

BACKWARD INTO THE FUTURE

In the post–Cold War world, it is easy to harbor illusions of American omnipotence. Do not, warns the author, follow Woodrow Wilson down the path of humanitarian interventionism.

JOHN GRAY

LIKE ALL other great historical transformations, the collapse of the Soviet system has had unpredicted and paradoxical consequences. One of the least appreciated of these is the new lease on life it has given to the Wilsonian vision in American foreign policy. In a sense this is unsurprising. At first glance, the Soviet collapse looks very much like a confirmation of the central tenets of the Wilsonian faith—such as the eventual convergence of the world's peoples on a universal civilization, and the prefiguring of that civilization in the institutions of American democratic capitalism. For Wilsonianism was always an American adaptation of the historical theodicy of the French Enlightenment, in which the Judaeo-Christian conception of history as a moral drama is emptied of mystery and tragedy and restated in terms of the banal hopes of secular humanism.

In the American version of this conception, it was affirmed that the political order of such a universal civilization was liberal democracy, and that the triumph of liberal democracy meant the end of war. If the assumptions of this philosophy of history are granted, then the goals of the foreign policy of a great power are clear enough: to speed or assist the global convergence on democratic institutions, and thereby to bring about the cessation of war.

The Soviet debacle has given this Wilsonian vision an anachronistic plausibility, which nothing else in the history of our century supports. Its dominance in American public discourse, including that of conservatives, is dangerous and disabling to thought on foreign policy. It has ensured that American opinion is ill prepared for the aftermath of the Soviet collapse, and is set for incomprehension and disillusionment in the likely future. Specifically, it primes American public opinion for recklessly imprudent cuts in defense expenditure. At a time when the security structures that kept the peace in the postwar years are dissolving, and when cheap technologies of mass destruction are uncontrollably proliferating, it is folly for the United States to engage in a massive retrenchment in defense spending, and suicidal for it to contemplate dismantling its space-based defense systems.

The Flip Side

ABOVE ALL, the reinforcement of Wilsonianism by the fall of the Soviet system has encouraged hopes about the possibilities of American intervention throughout the world whose inevitable disappointment can only have the effect of strengthening Wilsonianism's other side—isolationism. Self-deluding intervention in the endemic ungovernability of Somalia and former Yugoslavia, when it issues inexorably in fiasco and inglorious rout, is bound to strengthen American isolationism and cloud American perception of the real dangers to global security, such as the ominous military build-ups under way in China and Iran. The isolationist impulse is in any case likely to be boosted by trade wars with Europe and Japan that will be aggravated by the emergent protectionism of the Clinton Administration. The result is all too likely to be an inward-looking nationalism in which domestic issues—on any reckoning serious enough—become all-engrossing

---

Mr. Gray, a Fellow of Jesus College, wrote this article during a period of residence as Stranahan Distinguished Research Fellow at the Social Philosophy and Policy Center, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio. His latest book is Post-Liberalism *(Routledge: London and New York, 1993).*

ILLUSTRATION BY FRED CARLSON

and the American public turns its back on a world it can no longer comprehend.

In that event, the end of the Cold War will be followed by a global power vacuum in which the absence of any hegemonic power will trigger rearmament in Japan and produce deep instability in Europe. If this outcome is to be averted, Wilsonian ideology must be abandoned as the basis for American foreign policy, and replaced by a conception of American national interest. That will be far from easy, partly because of the ubiquity of ideological fantasy in American foreign policy, partly because what it is to be an American is increasingly understood in the universalist terms of a rationalist civil religion instead of the inheritance of a particular cultural identity.

As Old as Mankind

THE DEMISE of the Soviet system is particularly dangerous for American foreign policy because it encourages the liberal illusion that international conflict is typically ideological in character, so that, in

Intervention and Its Discontents

I GET NERVOUS when liberals are so gung-ho about going to war. It's positively disconcerting to open up the *New York Times* and find two or three articles almost every day demanding military intervention in the former Yugoslavia, in the manner of a Hearst organ before the Spanish-American war. To be sure, the horrors of "ethnic cleansing" have provoked interventionist sentiments among worthy conservatives like Jeane Kirkpatrick and Patrick Glynn, not to mention Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. But these individuals have the track record of a certain seriousness about security matters, which has never been the strong suit of, say, Anthony Lewis.

How *ought* conservatives to think about this new post-Cold War interventionism, which has become the salient feature of our debate over not only Yugoslavia, but also Somalia and Iraq?

I see four issues here. One is *the moral and humanitarian argument*. Serb atrocities in Bosnia; Saddam Hussein's brutality against Kurds and other Iraqis; mass starvation threatened by the Somali civil war—these offend the conscience and make a powerful case. It is not wrong for Americans—indeed it is traditional—to ask whether there is anything we can do to end the suffering.

A second criterion is *upholding international norms of conduct*. Saddam Hussein and Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic have defied the civilized world, with varying degrees of impunity. This is a terrible precedent at a time when a new international system, held together by global cooperation, is struggling to be born. The world, alas, is full of other thugs whose calculations will be affected by how the world reacts to these challenges.

These two concerns have a powerful hold over our present debate, with good reason. But there are two other criteria that tend to be overlooked. One is *the American strategic interest*. I cannot imagine the American people sustaining a major military intervention—especially one that, unlike Somalia, involves many casualties—without some demonstrable relation to our national interest. Finally, there is the test of whether we have an *effective military plan* that promises a decisive result. Vietnam is a glaring reminder of the horrendous price we pay for carelessness in these two respects.

The good news, then, is the end of liberal guilt about the use of American power. The bad news is that it is still, in some circles, divorced from rigorous analysis of strategic or military realities. A whole new academic field is developing—that of "humanitarian intervention." Originating in the fertile minds of French Socialist intellectuals, it was much discussed at the United Nations in 1991. Since then, it has received methodical exposition in the work of the Overseas Development Council, the U.S. Institute of Peace, the Watson Institute at Brown University, and, most recently, a commission appointed by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Carnegie's July 1992 report, *Changing Our Ways*, hailed a "new principle of international relations"—namely, that respect for a nation's sovereignty was no longer justified if it was violating human rights on a large scale, or in other cases of "humanitarian crisis." The United States and the international community had not only a right to intervene, but a duty. Thus, some of the same folks who resisted action against Communist tyranny for three decades, warning against intervention in the internal affairs of other states, now tell us we are morally defective if we refrain.

What do those last two criteria, though, tell us about the current cases?

Desert Storm was archetypical of a case where the moral and legal arguments coincided with an urgent strategic interest. There was also an impressive military strategy (though unfortunately not carried through to a more conclusive outcome). Conceptually, that was an easy one.

In Somalia, the moral case was strong but the U.S. strategic interest was zero. Liberals loved our involvement there for that very reason; I supported it despite that. The saving grace, if you will, was a military plan that involved no military risk—the only risk being that we might accomplish no lasting benefit for the country. We may be lucky, however. The Mafia dons whose turf war got out of hand may have used our intervention as an opportunity for a truce. They had learned that open warfare is bad for business. Where Eliot Ness tried to break the Mafia, Robert Oakley in effect helped the dons broker a new deal to divide up the territory. If a local balance of forces can be restored, it may work out.

In Yugoslavia, the moral and legal

Mr. Rodman, now an NR *senior editor, was an official in the Reagan and Bush Administrations.*

the absence of contending ideologies, peace is the norm for international relations. This liberal view neglects the obvious fact that ideologies of the sort we are familiar with in the twentieth century—that is to say, secular religions promising a delusive release from the terrors of history—are no older than the Enlightenment, whereas war is as old as mankind. The conflicts between and within peoples that make up most of human history have been ethnic and religious conflicts, conflicts about territory and authority, not about secular ideology. The end of ideology—which we are certainly witnessing—heralds, not peace among men, but a resumption of traditional forms of conflict, albeit with novel weaponries and on a larger scale than ever before. It is reasonable to expect the pattern of such conflicts to be dictated by the histories of the peoples involved in them, and to reflect ancient divisions among them of language and religious allegiance, rather than the ephemera of rationalist ideology.

Such an expectation is well borne out by the disintegration of the artificial state of Yugoslavia, cobbled together under the aegis of Wilsonian liberalism after the

---

arguments are very strong, but the dirty little secret is that our strategic interest is more potential than actual. *If* the conflict spread to Kosovo or Macedonia, and *if* Turkey or Greece or Bulgaria or others got sucked in, then we would have a geopolitical disaster. We have a large interest in deterring *this*. (We have more of a direct stake in Turkey, with its growing role in the Mideast and Central Asia, than we have in Yugoslavia.) Short of this, the striking fact of the Yugoslav horror is how well the European system has been insulated from it. Relations among the major powers in Europe have not been so benign in a century; there is no rush to choose sides for any grand face-off. It's not 1914. The real reason there has been no serious international intervention to stop the fighting is the implicit and universal recognition that this is the case.

BUT IF we do have an interest in the Serbian problem—and the case can be made—the critical question becomes: What action is proposed? Much of the debate for or against greater U.S. involvement hinges on whether a credible strategy is put forward.

This is why Warren Christopher's February 10 policy statement was so frightening. Eloquently voicing liberal impatience at George Bush's passivity, Christopher pledged the U.S. to an ambitious agenda—more active engagement in the diplomacy; a commitment to achieving the Vance-Owen plan or something better (meaning a substantial rollback of Serb gains); war-crimes trials; etc. Yet the ambitious ends were out of sync with the feeble means.

The secretary pledged no more than new economic sanctions and diplomatic pressures—whose inadequacy history has proved time and time again. Military power he hinted at only in the particular contexts of Kosovo and Macedonia, enforcement of the "no-fly zones," and policing a settlement after it's reached. He was silent on what the United States is prepared to do to *get* a settlement, if, after plunging ahead and exhausting our economic and diplomatic repertoire, we run into the same brutal Serb intransigence that has been the essence of the problem all along. He even backed away from the important step that Clinton had broached during the campaign—arming the Bosnians.

The policy had all the earmarks of a bureaucratic compromise between those who wanted to do more (to fulfill the campaign promise) and those who wanted to do less (to avoid distracting attention from the President's economic program). When policy is made in this way, any resemblance between it and a coherent strategy is purely coincidental. It also had the earmarks of that naïve faith in negotiation unencumbered by leverage that was the distinguishing feature of the Carter Administration.

The decision to airdrop supplies, of course, increased our risk without bringing us closer to a solution.

I have no idea whether there exists a more decisive military option—an overwhelming blow that could break the back of Serbian power—but that is the kind of question the Clinton Administration should be asking if it is taking us down the path of serious commitment. Likewise in Iraq (where we are similarly mesmerized by this bizarre modern concept of the "no-fly zone"), no one seems to be asking the tough question of how our power can be used decisively, instead of being frittered away in Vietnam-style incrementalism or, worse, abdication. (*NR* excepted, of course. See Albert Wohlstetter, "High Time," Feb. 15.)

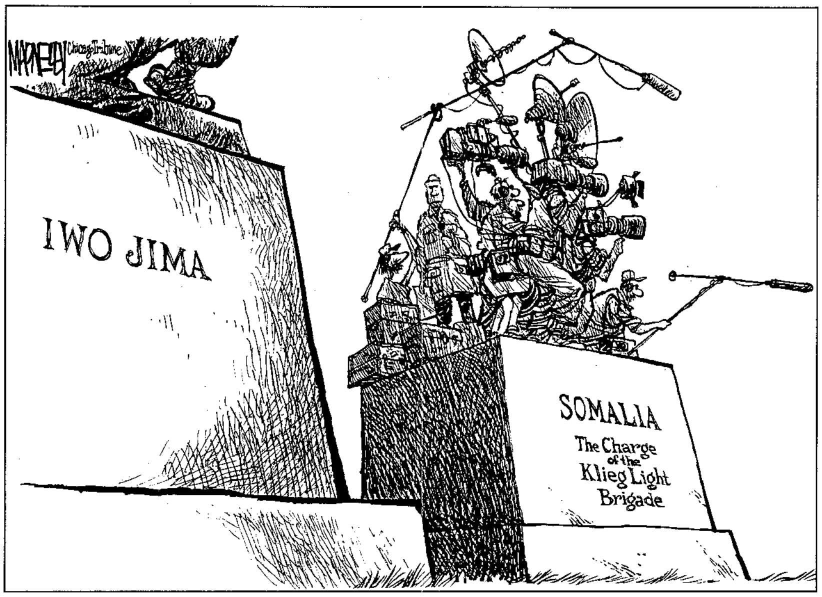
In both Iraq and Yugoslavia, confronting the tyrants with only economic and diplomatic pressures, or even limited military steps, is a formula for fiasco. We have learned from bitter experience that incremental or demonstrative uses of force do more to advertise our hesitancy than our determination. Having committed our prestige, either we are prepared to take it to a point of decisive confrontation or else we are bluffing. Saddam and Milosevic will quickly find out which.

All this takes place, of course, against the backdrop of the Administration's plans to shrink our military budget. Expanding our diplomatic objectives while cutting back our power can only be called voodoo national-security policy.

Conservatives will not always be pro-intervention, or anti-. But we will think about these problems like grown-ups. Isolationism is not an option, but it looks as if we will have to be the ones to ask: Have you thought it through? What are you going to do next, if the first steps fail? We will have to ask the tough questions about strategic and military realities—questions the Administration will soon run into, willy-nilly, a few steps down the road on which it has so carelessly embarked.

—PETER W. RODMAN

First World War and given a second lease on life by Tito's Communist regime. The situation in former Yugoslavia is fraught with dangers which Wilsonian ideology cannot comprehend, still less assess. As the conflict intensifies and spreads, it assumes ever more the character of a war of religionists over territories, with the Orthodox peoples clashing with Catholics and Muslims, and with atrocity and genocide being used, not for the first time in the history of the Balkans, as normal instruments of military strategy. No party to the war is wedded to principles of democracy and human rights where these conflict with the claims of ethnic allegiance. Doubtless the current Balkan conflict is deepened and complicated by an inheritance of Communist deformations of national political cultures, and no doubt the parties to it make appeal to the rhetoric of national self-determination; but it cannot be understood in the terms provided by recent ideologies such as liberalism and Communism. Nor is it soluble by the application of liberal principles of democracy and self-determination: it will be resolved, if at all, only by military action by the combatants that yields an outcome decisive enough to be the basis for a political settlement.



The risks of any Western intervention that neglects the ancient allegiances and enmities are that of kindling a larger conflagration (which, by drawing Greece and Turkey into conflict in Macedonia, would deal a death blow to an already weakened NATO) and, as the ultimate nemesis of Western hubris, that of backing Yeltsin's feeble and beleaguered government into military support for Russia's Orthodox brethren in Serbia, so putting an end to the post-Communist era of cooperation between Russia and the West. This would be a hazard of Western intervention even if the objective of restoring the *status quo ante* were feasible—which it is not. It is hard to resist the conclusion that, just as earlier Western policy (except that of Germany) rested on the classic diplomatic error of confusing familiarity with stability, so current policy is governed by the even more absurd objective of restoring a territorial and ethnic status quo that depended on the old Yugoslav state and has been irretrievably lost in war.

This is not to say that Western intervention in the Yugoslav conflict is wrong in principle, but rather that its goals should be realistically attainable, and that it should yield a military and political settlement that is sustainable when the West has withdrawn. To break the siege of Sarajevo and enable the arming of the Croats and Muslims are achievable objectives, but they run the risk of provoking a rearming of the Serbs by Russia, and of the Bosnian Muslims by the Islamic world; such rearming which could only intensify the conflict and make its outcome even more remote. The only certainty is that any such policy would end once the pretense that Western intervention in former Yugoslavia is, or could ever be, purely humanitarian in character.

Are American supporters of armed intervention ready to commit American soldiers on the ground, and to remain in Yugoslavia indefinitely despite mounting casualties? Or is their enthusiasm for military intervention grounded in the illusion that its objectives can be achieved solely by the use of air power? And what political proposals do they have that might prove acceptable to the parties to the conflict, such that Western withdrawal would not simply trigger its resumption? It is clear that American advocates of military intervention have given little or no serious consideration to these questions. A more feasible, and certainly a less hazardous, objective of Western policy would be to erect a *cordon sanitaire* around the current conflict, so that it does not spark off a larger Balkan war.

Behind the Threat—Another Threat

IF, FOR WILSONIANS, every advance of democratic institutions heralds perpetual peace, for realists the removal of one threat to peace is likely only to reveal another. Accordingly, the collapse of the Soviet threat has obscured the dangers of nuclear proliferation that go with the disintegration of the Soviet system, even as the Fukuyamist fantasy that post-Communist Russia is bent on convergence with Western democratic capitalism has left American policymakers unprepared for the prospect of an authoritarian nationalist regime emerging there.

In part this unpreparedness stems from the delusive belief that the demise of central planning inaugurated market institutions and a Western-style civil society in Russia, and that a market economy could be built in months by a "Big Bang" policy of privatization and deregulation. In economic terms, this ill-conceived policy neglected the fact—made clear to all but the invincibly ignorant by German unification—that most of the civilian industrial sector of the Communist command economies cannot be privatized at any price, but merely liquidated, since its plant and products have been obsolescent for decades on the world market. More particularly, in Russia, the wild schemes of Jeffrey Sachs failed to address the fact that half the economy belongs to the military–industrial sector, which has the political clout to resist measures of civilianization that would be hard to implement even if the Yeltsin government were not largely powerless. Accordingly, the fact that the end of central planning in Russia has been followed not by the emergence of any sort of civil society but by an anarcho-capitalism presided over by elements of the military–industrial complex and of the *nomenklatura* has left Western policy rudderless.

In truth, the neo-liberals and democrats in Russia today resemble no one more than the Provisional Government of 1917, well characterized by Nicolas Berdyaev: "In the Russian Revolution the Bolshevists were the realists and the constitutional democrats the dreamers. Could anything be more lacking in common sense than the plan they cherished of turning Russia into a democratic country, firmly believing that the people could be persuaded by humanitarian speeches to acknowledge the rights and liberties of men and citizens and that it would be possible by liberal enactments to uproot the fierce instincts of both governors and governed? That would indeed have been an incredible revolution, a negation of all the age-long impulses and traditions of the Russian people. It would have been far more radical than the Bolshevist policy, which uses the accepted ways of government and exploits the secular characteristics of the people" (*The End of Our Time*, 1933).

Western policy, under American leadership, would be wiser if it prepared for the likelihood, not the possibility, of authoritarian rule in Russia, without making a fetish of democratic institutions. It would be wiser yet if it remembered the maxim that it is the capacity of a potential enemy, not his conjectured or professed intentions, that matters most. The reality is that Russia will possess a vast war machine under any political institutions it is likely to have in the coming decades, and it is this war machine, and not an authoritarian regime, that poses the true threat to the West.

One danger is that this machine will be deployed to muster domestic support by pursuing the traditional expansionist goals of Czarist diplomacy—which in the nightmare scenario of Russian involvement in the Yugoslav conflict could be promoted under the aegis of pan-Slavist ideology. A greater risk at present is that the military–industrial complex is under the effective control of no one, so that the grandiose arms-control agreements of the closing days of the Bush Administration may be unenforceable, and military technologies may be seeping out of Russia on a purely commercial basis. Indeed, from that point of view an effective authoritarian regime in Russia would be of positive advantage to the West.

The notion that the West may not have an interest in the universal propagation of its own institutions is, to be sure, anathema to Wilsonians of every stripe. One of the pillars of the "new world order" is, after all, the idea that Western democracy is the norm of legitimacy for governments everywhere in the world, the corollary of which is that support for any undemocratic regime is tantamount to propping up tyranny. Here it is important to perceive that Western democracy is far from commanding universal admiration even among the West's friends and allies. In neither Singapore nor Saudi Arabia is Western democracy an object of reverence. In China, the political model of the economic reformers is certainly not the United States, or any other Western democratic state, but authoritarian Singapore. The Wilsonian inheritance inhibits perception of the truth that which regimes best favor Western interests is a matter of circumstance, not ideology. In many parts of the world, the most urgent necessity is the Hobbesian one of peace and stability, rather than democracy. Governments which pass the Hobbesian test tend to be perceived as legitimate by their subjects, and to have the capacity to act as effective guarantors of Western interests. An American commitment to global democracy, if it were consistently implemented, would have only one sure outcome: the destabilization of regimes that are friendly to the West and viewed as legitimate by their peoples.

Good-Bye to All That

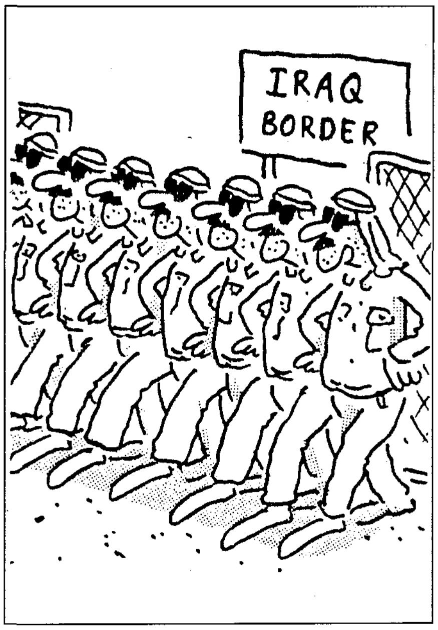
THE FIRST requirement of American foreign policy in the Nineties is that it shed the messianic illusions of neo-liberal Wilsonianism and focus on the demands of American national interest. This entails an acknowledgment of the limits of American power as well as a judgment as to where American vital interests are at stake and where they are not. It is wholly unclear that any vital American or Western interest is at stake in Somalia.

Moreover, the ills that afflict Somalia are inherently political in character, arising from its inability to govern itself. American intervention thus makes sense only in the context of a protectorate, installed under UN auspices, which has the power and the mandate to end the anarchy that is the root cause of the famine. This is colonialism in all but name. Contrary to Wilsonian prejudices often shared by American conservatives, the record of Western colonialism in providing good government, especially in Africa, is by no means unimpressive; but who imagines that the will to sustain a colonial presence exists in America today? It is not unimaginable that France and Britain, unburdened by Wilsonian fetishism about self-determination, would collaborate with the United States in sustaining a protectorate in Somalia, if they believed American resolve to be firm. It is because they doubt the capacity of the United States to commit itself over the long haul that the European nations are deeply skeptical about proposals emerging from the Clinton Administration which postulate quick military fixes for political problems that are endemic and intractable.

If such a long-term commitment were not interdicted by the American federal deficit, it would be undermined by the absence of the political will to assume an imperial role. For these reasons, a global *Pax Americana* is not a realistic scenario for the Nineties; but this in no way diminishes the necessity for American leadership where both the American national interest and global security are at issue. A more limited engagement than the attempt to act as guarantor of peace and security everywhere, and one which could command the support of America's allies in Europe, would be a strategy that sought to contain the most dangerous sources of instability in strategically decisive areas of the world. Of these, three stand out: the Middle East, the former Soviet Union, and East Asia.

Among the many dangers spawned in the inconclusive aftermath of the Gulf War is a massively, and perhaps nuclearly, armed Iran, which poses a large threat to regional stability, as well as being a source of fundamentalist agitation throughout the Muslim parts of the former Soviet Union. In this regard, American policy must walk a razor's edge. It cannot afford to demonize Islam—a temptation to which sections of Western opinion have succumbed in recent years—since it depends on the support of states such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Turkey to stem the tide of Islamic fundamentalism. It must at the same time continue to support the right to existence of Israel as one of the cornerstones of Western policy.

Perhaps no objective is more urgent in the Middle East than preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. This is a goal which the European nations, and Russia, have a clear long-term interest in supporting. It is also one that only American leadership can hope to achieve, since only the United States has the technology and resources—particularly those of satellite intelligence—which make it feasible. If the United States does not act to inhibit nuclear proliferation in the Middle East, no one will, for no one else can.



© Matt, *Daily Telegraph*, London / Rothco

*"You put your left leg in,
your left leg out . . ."*

In Russia there is a powerful case—made by Richard Nixon, among others—for large-scale economic aid, but conditional on progress in reducing the war machine that was inherited from the Soviet period. Such a policy is in any case essential if the objective of preventing nuclear proliferation is not to be thwarted by the seepage of dangerous technologies into other conflict-ridden regions.

In East Asia the rapid build-up by China poses a threat to surrounding nations such as Vietnam, Malaysia, and, above all, Japan. The perception that America is withdrawing from its postwar role in the Asia–Pacific region, together with the likely worsening of trade conflicts as the United States resorts to Japan-bashing, can only heighten the prospect of a regional arms race. In these circumstances, Japan will, sooner rather than later, feel itself constrained to rearm. This is an inevitable development in the medium term, but that is no reason why it should be hastened by a menacing build-up of armaments by China. There is a powerful case for the United States' using the prospect of withdrawal of MFN status for China as a lever to moderate its behavior toward its neighbors. Once again, it is the danger to stability and peace, not China's deviation from Western democratic norms, that justifies the use of American leverage.

The Resumption of History

THE SOVIET collapse has had the effect of unraveling the global settlement that has kept the peace since the Second World War. The danger now is that of American withdrawal from world leadership, as the postwar liberal economic order fragments into trade blocs, and the magnitude of America's domestic problems strengthens the impulse to nativism and introversion. The temptation the United States faces at present is of rendering itself vulnerable to the mounting instabilities of a world policed by no one by cutting back on military preparedness, including high-tech weapons systems, instead of confronting the structural reasons—in education, health care, exploding entitlements, and the breakdown of law and order—for the federal fiscal crisis.

The Soviet collapse and the unraveling of the postwar settlement herald, not a new world order, but an era of chaos, in which the primordial conflicts of religions and ethnicities that have made up most of human history are resumed on a scale of vastly enhanced lethality. The goals of foreign policy in such an age are not the hubristic mirage of perpetual peace, still less the will o' the wisp of global democracy, but rather the desperately humble struggle to stave off disaster, day after day, and to protect vital national interests in an ever shifting balance of power. The lesson of history is that civilizations come and go, and there are many signs that the epoch of Occidental supremacy may be coming to a close, as the Western peoples abandon their distinctive identities at the behest of antinomian ideologies of multiculturalism. Perhaps, as Spengler surmised, Western decline is an historical fate that cannot be averted. If so, the dominance of Wilsonian illusion in American thought on foreign policy will have played its part in the debacle. For, in framing American policy in universalist terms that render the pursuit of national interest illegitimate, it will have distracted us from the most salient fact of our age—that, in any future we can now foresee, if America fails, the world fails. □

The Conservative Summit

The National Review Institute, a non-profit organization founded by Wm. F. Buckley Jr. in 1991, decided to let the Clintons know that while Washington is now their town, it is still the capital of our nation. Accordingly, the Institute organized a Conservative Summit at Washington's Mayflower Hotel January 23–24. We can give only a taste of that conference here: it featured 78 speakers on more than a dozen panels, as well as rich conversation at meals, in the halls, and after hours. We will be printing George Will's speech in a future issue, as well as a tabulation of the audience's responses to a survey; in addition, we hope to make tapes of the event available.

For now, ***Tom Bethell*** *flexes his considerable "I am a camera" skills in his report on the conference. . . .* ***Richard Brookhiser*** *picks up on Mr. Bethell's closing thought by viewing the weekend through the lens of presidential politics; I must add that this crowd saw plenty of missions to be accomplished before we worry about final leadership auditions. . . . In the section headed* ***Speeches & Panels*** *we give as many excerpts as space will allow; far fewer than the panelists deserve. . . .* ***Pete duPont,*** *in his role as a senior sage of the movement, closes with a question, and some tentative answers that raise more questions, about how conservatives must go about renewing the nation.* —MC

BLITHE SPIRITS

Tom Bethell

PARTICIPANTS at the Conservative Summit mysteriously obeyed Washington's unwritten Law of Conferences: the size of the audience is inversely proportional to time elapsed. For the Welcoming Remarks, then, there was a vast crowd in the Grand Ballroom, overflowing into corridors, alcoves, balconies, and hallways. And they had paid $185 per person! Policy-institute veterans, knowing how difficult it can be to assemble an audience of any size in Washington, were scratching their heads in wonderment. Over eight hundred signed up, many more were turned away. "It shows the hunger," said Lew Rockwell, head of the Ludwig von Mises Institute, and one of the 78 speakers.

Everyone seemed surprisingly cheerful, considering that "Team Billary" had taken up residence at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue only three days earlier. John O'Sullivan lifted spirits even more by announcing that we weren't at the end of the Reagan–Bush years, we were already "at the mid-point of the Bush–Clinton years."

"As long as he's violating his campaign promises, I think we're all right," said the recently pardoned former defense secretary, Caspar Weinberger, who also seemed to be in a good mood. The general feeling was that with Bush gone, ideological clarity was restored. With a liberal Democrat in the White House, instead of a liberal Republican, the country would be on its guard against all attempts to move the country to the Left.

In the hall before the session, a mob had been pressing uncomfortably close to Jack Kemp, as befitted a Buffalo Bills quarterback. I asked him if he thought President Clinton would try to raise taxes on the middle class. "If he does he's history," Kemp confidently replied. "He promised 99 per cent of the people a tax cut."

In the session itself, Elliott Abrams, whose opposition to the Sandinistas raised hackles in Washington in the mid 1980s, introduced Kemp. He is "controversial" among some conservatives, Abrams said, because "he doesn't hate poor people enough"; a controversial comment in itself, in that it seemed to equate opposition to income transfers with hate.

Supplement Editor: Mark Cunningham.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BILL FITZ-PATRICK

Kemp mentioned several "myths," among them the idea now all the rage within the Beltway, that Americans need to "sacrifice."

"Nonsense!" he declared. "*Government* should sacrifice." Clinton's use of the S-word in his Inaugural Address had triggered a fiesta in Washington, and Kemp was as far as I know the first to suggest that tax-recipients, rather than tax-donors, should tighten their belts. Kemp also denounced the myth that "people and children are a drain on the resources of America." We should emancipate ourselves "from the radical population-control idea that reversed the policies of Ronald Reagan," he added, and that was as close as he came to the hot topic of abortion.

It was good to hear Kemp unabashedly promoting "private property rights," the open advocacy of which has been avoided by national politicians since Calvin Coolidge. (Reagan was an occasional exception.) Kemp's point was that those on the Left want to show how much they care by redistributing income to the poor, but then keep welfare recipients dependent by requiring that they "must not own anything." If Thomas Jefferson "had had his way," Kemp added, the Declaration of Independence would have read "life, liberty, and property," instead of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" (interesting, but hard to document, I suspect).

ROBERT BORK was smoking in the hallway, dispensing curmudgeonly bon-mots to interviewers. Might we not have been better off with Zoë Baird as attorney general, someone asked? No, he said, puffing on his cigarette. As general counsel of Aetna Life, she had no choice but to support tort reform. If confirmed, she would have been hopelessly weakened. Her husband, Yale Law Professor Paul Gewirtz, had campaigned against Bork's Supreme Court nomination, and was a "left-wing twerp." Puff. He foresaw the possibility that Zoë's downfall would relieve Twerp Hubby of any need to travel to Washington for (judicial) confirmation hearings of his own. Puff and puff.

Bork was on next at one of the "break-out sessions," the topic being Law & Disorder. He has the knack of being acerbic and funny at the same time. But he did raise questions about his skill as a teacher of constitutional law by naming some of his students at Yale: "Bill Clinton, Hillary Clinton, Robert Reich, Anita Hill, Jerry Brown." There was something quite delicious about his orotund delivery of the former California governor's last name, and it brought the house down. Bork's excuse was that this illustrious but ill-instructed quintet were not so much his students as "just sitting there in the room" when he happened to be teaching.

What went wrong? Robert Bork tells Tom Bethell of some of his former students: Bill Clinton, Hillary Clinton, Anita Hill . . .

The present Supreme Court has proved itself to be "an activist and rather unrestrained Court," Bork added, and he quoted the majority decision in *Planned Parenthood* v. *Casey:* "at the heart of liberty is the right to define one's own concept of existence, of meaning, of the universe." This was New Age jurisprudence, he declared. "We are in a state of constitutional disorder."

In the hallway I met an old friend who told me that Justice Kennedy has recently hired as one of his four clerks a leftist who graduated from Stanford Law in 1991: Miles Ehrlich. Another is Gary Feinerman, a pro-choice Republican. Kennedy has let it be known that he lets his law clerks decide difficult cases for him. Meanwhile he spends a good deal of time looking out of the window, philosophizing. (Discerning the political breezes, others might say.) "It's easier for Scalia," he told a visitor recently, implying that he himself takes a rather less predictable approach to the law.

When nominated to the Court, Kennedy volunteered to Justice Department official William Bradford Reynolds that *Roe* v. *Wade* was made up out of whole cloth. At some point, however, Kennedy apparently conceived the hope of retiring to Stanford Law, where he will surely be welcomed as a legal philosopher. His colleague David Souter held hands with William Brennan on the steps of the Court at the time of Thurgood Marshall's funeral and has already received a Strange New Respect Award from the *Wall Street Journal*.

I hurried over to the Sexual Politics session in the Cabinet Room. Here the star attraction was Andrew Sullivan, who models for Gap and edits *The New Republic*. He is usually characterized with five adjectives: young, conservative, British, Catholic, gay.

Maggie Gallagher, who like Sullivan is young and Catholic, but who is rather more conservative, had earlier remarked that economic pressures were "forcing women into the workplace against their will," which was imposing a strain on families. Sullivan demurred only to say that homosexuals were family, too. I could not quite follow his train of thought when he added that Aristotle and Plato—"two very openly gay men"—clearly understood that "sexual conquest is a political act. Sexual desire and politics are linked." Hmm. Come again? "These two impulses are very close." The "key virtue" for conservatives is "moderation," he said, because "this whole area is fraught with danger." As it happened, the room was stuffed with conservatives who were showing great moderation in listening to him deferentially.

Sullivan said, perhaps superfluously, that homosexuality was something he was "very interested in." It was now obsessing the Body Politic, too. The paleo-con view, with us since the thirteenth century, is that homosexuals don't exist as such. There are merely sinful acts. "But in 1993 it can't work," Sullivan explained. Fact is, homosexuals "can't help it," a view now promoted by the Vatican, he thought. Then there's the neo-con view: Some-of-my-best-friends-are-gay blah-blah (just as long as they keep quiet about it in public). This was a modus vivendi, Sullivan allowed, but "that too is no longer working." Because? It depended on the inculcation of shame, which has now dissolved (into shamelessness, I fear).

Meanwhile, we need to "set up institutions which can co-opt gay people." Special rights aren't needed. Sullivan's goal today is the legitimization of homosexual marriage, in order to "encourage fidelity, monogamy, and stability." In the military, meanwhile, gays will show they are patriots. "Conservatives should understand," he concluded, "that virtue is possible for everybody."

Maggie Gallagher retorted that the purpose of marriage is "the protection of women in their child-bearing roles," and Mona Charen, moderator and conservative columnist, said that "it's not marriage that civilizes men, it's women." In response to the point about children, Sullivan reminded us that gays also want "full adoption rights" along with their marriage certificates.

I asked Sullivan what his evidence was that gays "can't help it."

"My life," he said. "Everybody I've met. I haven't met a single gay person who said, 'I could really be heterosexual.'" He said he thought 5 per cent of men were gay, and that there's an "outside possibility" it's genetic, "perhaps 75 per cent genetic and 25 per cent environmental."

AT LUNCH I sat next to David Horowitz, a very interesting fellow who used to edit *Ramparts* and has traveled all the way from the far Left in the past decade. Now he edits *Heterodoxy* (with his frequent co-author, Peter Collier), and often finds himself warning conservatives that it's time to wake up and realize what they're up against. He remarked to me how tolerant, easygoing, and diverse conservatives are by comparison with his former associates. The Left does not permit even remotely comparable differences of opinion. And yet it is conservatives who are always urged to be more tolerant, more "inclusive," less zealous.

Horowitz had spoken in a different room at the same time as Sullivan, but he was happy to show me his speech. Here is a characteristic paragraph: "Most Americans, most conservatives, are too well-meaning and generous to understand the true nature of the Communist Left and its fellow-traveling associates. They do not understand how profound is their enmity and how haughty their disdain for what used to be called 'the American way of life.' They do not understand that the Left is permanently at war with bourgeois America, and that there is nothing America can do to win its goodwill or earn its respect." He quoted *The Nation* as saying after the fall of Communism the Left should "get on with its job . . . [which is to] attack the very foundation of our system."

Liberals who go along with the Left buy the totalitarian case, Horowitz added. They believe that "the source of our problems is not the intractability of human nature but the injustice of the social order: that the unequal distribution of property is the malady that afflicts us, not the unequal distribution of intelligence and virtue."

A theme seemed to be emerging, for Ernest van den Haag told me after lunch that *his* speech had linked criminality and inheritance. Twins born to criminals, separated at birth and then adopted, "are three times as likely to commit crimes as adoptees from noncriminal parents," he told me in his mysterious European accent.

I bumped into Paul Craig Roberts, economics columnist and former assistant secretary of the Treasury. For some strange reason he too was looking cheerful. The economic-policy question being discussed in the hallways was whether the usual Republican suspects will sign on to Clinton's tax-increase, "economic-fairness" package. House Republicans under Newt Gingrich and Dick Armey will make no such mistake, was the general feeling, but on the Senate side, who knows about Bob Dole and Pete Domenici? They vote routinely for each and every tax increase.

"Dole and Domenici will finish off the destruction of the Republican Party," Roberts said. "They'll vote for the bill, the economy will tank, and the deficit will go up. What will they do then? They'll say we didn't raise taxes enough!" That was vintage Craig Roberts, and now I understand why he was looking so cheerful. Bill Kristol said that Budget Director Leon Panetta "is Bill Clinton's Dick Darman: a very nice man who honestly believes that what the country needs is tax increases."

It's not possible to govern the country by increasing taxes, spending, and regulations, said Jim Pinkerton of New Paradigm fame. As a Bush Administration alumnus, he added, "I know whereof I speak." Conservatives should now go for the big play on school choice; the $250 billion (!) spent on education, K–12, "should be transferred to the private sector in the form of vouchers," he said. Kristol said that liberalism is now an empty shell. Clinton's Inaugural aperçu—"the urgent question of our time is whether we can make change our friend"—reminded him of something his five-year-old might say. Then again, Kristol added, the trouble with conservatives is that they are too timid, too defensive, and too nostalgic.

BEN WATTENBERG and Peter Brimelow resumed their long-running dispute about immigration at the session on Culture, Language, and Nationality, and Bob Tyrrell of *The American Spectator* said that unlike New Dealers, conservatives had made "almost no attempt to influence our culture" in the Reagan–Bush years. Dinesh D'Souza reminded us that Quadruple Victim (She–Indian–Negro–Latin) Rigoberta Menchu had shrewdly pitched her message to the Stanford professoriate rather than to Guatemalan peasants and, having grasped the bottom rung of the ladder, had won the Nobel Prize (let's see now, was it Peace or Literature, one forgets).

Shakespeare *may* have been Hetero, Dinesh allowed, but Sobran, who has been studying the question, declared that the Bard was Bi. We're all anxiously awaiting his book on the topic, *Outing Shakespeare*.

The West is accused of being Eurocentric, Sobran remarked, but in fact "the West is uniquely interested in other cultures. And it's in our temperament to try to suspend judgment when we study them."

A simultaneous session was entitled, America—Does It Still Have a World Role? The short answer is yes. As I came in, panelists were discuss-ing an interesting question from the audience: Does Islam permit free choice? Jeane Kirkpatrick said we should do nothing to encourage people to take up "Islamic fundamentalism," which she does not believe is an inevitable development. Senator Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming said that Islamic fundamentalism had "grown in the fertile soil of poverty," all too common in the Middle East. In several countries in that region you find well-educated people with street jobs. Charles Krauthammer took issue with this. It was "a peculiarly Western fallacy" to believe that "this kind of fanaticism has to be economic," he said. "We are underestimating the Islamic threat if we see it as a failure of development." Maybe. But if just one Islamic country would only permit real economic development to occur, it would be instructive to observe the level of "fanaticism" therein.

Peter Rodman said that he was "agnostic" on U.S. involvement in Bosnia; he always gets worried when "liberals are so enthusiastic about intervention." Jeane Kirkpatrick saw the need for "limited, focused aerial strikes on centers of Serbian military operations." Michael Lind used the word "inchoate" to describe American interest in the region, while Krauthammer too was "dovish and agnostic on this issue." We should seek to achieve some goal other than "catharsis," otherwise "we'll spend the next sixty years there," he concluded.

BOLDLY shunning coat and tie, Newt Gingrich wore the kind of grey pullover seen in English boarding schools. He said (back in the Ballroom now) that "the greatest threat to freedom is the decay of American civilization here at home," and he made the interesting observation that liberals no longer use the word *progress*. It disappeared "somewhere between the trenches of the Western Front and the horrors of Auschwitz." If we fail, "Bosnia and Somalia are just the tip of the horrors that await us." After his speech, I overheard him say to freshman Congressman Michael Huffington: "The defeat of Bush, sadly, was a liberating event."

At the dinner, I had the good fortune to sit next to Taki, *NR* "Delectations" columnist, (London) *Spectator* "High Life" columnist, heir to a Greek shipping fortune, and one of the most entertaining writers of our day. He kept us amused with a stream of gossip, mostly unprintable. In 1967 he was briefly press spokesman for the Greek Colonels, announced his regret that they hadn't shot all the liberals, and when the liberals took power was sentenced to 16 months in prison. But he escaped on his father's yacht. He said that he has "f--- you money," but unlike most so situated, is not afraid to sound conservative. I asked him why the rich are so timid, politically. "The more liberal they are the safer they are," he said. "They cut a lot of corners," and so run the risk of scrutiny and exposure. Liberals are exempt, is the general idea. There's no better illustration than Ted Kennedy. The media would haul him up on any number of counts and run him out of Washington in five minutes if he started to vote conservative.

Charlton Heston, our own Moses, leading conservatives away from Clinton's Land of Promises.

A word of praise for Charlton Heston, whose self-effacing, epigrammatic introductions of various speakers were far above the level usually heard in Washington. Bruce Herschensohn's defeat by Barbara Boxer in California caused more conservative heartache than Clinton's victory, but Herschensohn reminded us that it's still possible to run for public office and understand what the U.S. Constitution says. George Will's after-dinner speech was an amazingly polished performance—Taki compared it to Demosthenes (or do I mean one of those other Ancient Greeks?). Will concluded with a call for cheerfulness.

This was ignored the next morning by Norman Podhoretz, the editor of *Commentary*. But I found his dour, lucid pessimism refreshing after so much good cheer. He expressed a justified amazement at the "paucity of resistance" to the ongoing social revolution in the United States. With the exception of "a few lonely voices in the Borough of Queens," he said, "the legitimization of homosexuality has gone from strength to strength with hardly any opposition." And the most revolutionary principle of the American Revolution—that it doesn't matter who your father was—has now been reversed. "There has been hardly a peep against Clinton, who has nakedly formed a government on the basis of a quota system."

On cultural issues generally, he saw no real evidence of principled conservatism among the people. Their resistance to the latest liberal assault is commonsensical, instinctive. But "the ground of principle has been cut out from under them by the liberal culture. . . . The entire American populace is engulfed by these forces." The churches have been "a weak reed," the bishops having sent us back empty-handed to the politicians. His "realistic assessment" was that "the prognosis is not all that great," and he quoted James Q. Wilson as saying that it's almost impossible to reverse such a secular tide. "But we have no alternative but to try."

Introducing the next speaker, Charlton Heston said he was once told: Cheer up, things could get worse. "So I cheered up. And they did get worse." Michael Joyce of the Bradley Foundation contrasted the prose of conservatism with "the dazzling poetry of the adversary culture." But this only conjured up Maya Angelou's Inaugural QuotaPoem, reminding us how much worse things have indeed become.

Finally we heard from William Bennett. He mentioned a moment in the campaign when the candidates were confronted by petitioners who unashamedly asked: What can you do for me, Mr. President? "Wouldn't it have been refreshing," Bennett said, "if one of the candidates had replied: 'I am not your father! Take care of your own responsibilities!'"

Bennett's audience, of course, was

smaller than Jack Kemp's, but this very challenging remark brought a tremendous outburst of applause. I am sure we were all thinking the same thing—how enjoyable it would be to hear a presidential candidate talk that way, at last. The contrast with Kemp could not have more marked. It will be a pity if both don't run for the White House in 1996. □

THEY'RE OFF

Richard Brookhiser

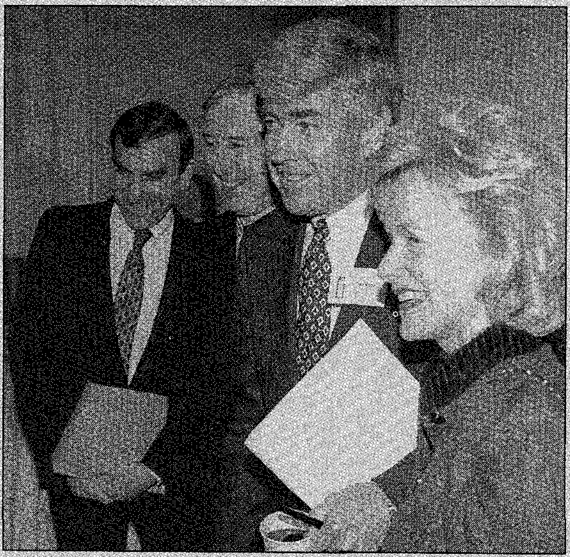
THE National Review Institute's Conservative Summit could be called the Mayflower Caucus of the 1996 Republican presidental campaign. In many ways it was more pleasant than real primary-season events: you didn't have to fly as far as Iowa or New Hampshire, and there were no whimpering farmers or greedy geezers when you arrived. Like an actual campaign forum, it was most interesting for what was said and done in public.

H. L. Mencken wrote that some people come to America because it pays better wages than Bulgaria, while others come because it has laws to keep them sober and their daughters chaste. Broadly speaking, the pols who addressed the summiteers resembled one or the other of these groups.

Jack Kemp spoke to the Summit's first session. He demonstrated then, as he always does, that he has what Oliver Wendell Holmes saw in FDR, a first-rate temperament. Basking in the sun of Kemp's personality is the political equivalent of a week in Jamaica. His manner triumphs even over his chaotic texts, and the address he gave at the Mayflower was atypically tight and concise.

"The purpose of a party in the minority," Kemp explained ebulliently, "is not to oppose, but to become a majority. I'm an old NFL quarterback. Do you expect me to say: 'Great. We lost the ball. Now we can turn it over to the defense.' "

Kemp said the GOP had to rebut five myths in order to force a turnover in 1996: that the American people need to sacrifice—"Nonsense. *Government* should sacrifice"; that the deficit is due to the fact that Americans are undertaxed—"We overtax capital, labor, the family, the poor"; that government can create jobs—"Entrepreneurs do"; that children are a drain on the resources of America and the world—"Children are not mouths to feed." That made four myths, and it was time for Kemp to wrap up. But he shoehorned myth five into his conclusion: the conviction that there is any intrinsic problem with the values of the poor. The problem with the underclass, he insisted, and the source of its pathologies, was the welfare system. This last-minute mention of values was his biggest applause line. He ended by denying that he believed in a New Paradigm. "There is one paradigm," he said, "the Declaration of Independence," the key sentences of which he recited, returning them to the words of Jefferson's model, John Locke, by substituting "property" for "the pursuit of happiness."



Elliott Abrams, John O'Sullivan, Jack Kemp, Gay Hart Gaines listen to the crowd and wonder: "Are Bill and Hillary's ears burning?"

He left everyone happy. Yet Kemp's intellectual property is beginning to look a little fenced in. Of his five myths, four were essentially economic, having to do with taxes, spending, or delivery systems. And granted that welfare created the underclass, how do we deal with misbehavior in the short run? If the welfare system and the tax code were perfected, would that be the end of our problems? Two other politicians who appeared at the Mayflower ranged farther afield.

Newt Gingrich, who spoke Saturday afternoon, offered "five pillars" of wisdom for the twenty-first century, one of which repeated a point of Kemp's. Entrepreneurship, said Gingrich, is the key to wealth. He wanted conservatives to promote technological advances, too often delayed and burdened by "bureaucracy, litigation, taxation, and professional guilds," and "quality," Edwards Deming's term for the post-industrial work ethic. But Gingrich urged conservatives to push also for inculcating "the principles of American civilization" and the elements of "psychological strength" ("courage, hard work, persistence, discipline, integrity"). "The greatest threat to freedom today is the decay of American civilization here at home. . . . If we fail, Bosnia and Somalia are just the tip of the horrors that await our children."

The contrast was most pointed at lunch on Sunday, when William Bennett warned against "decivilization" and "barbarism." As society has become brutal, Americans have gone soft. Bennett compared a member of the Donner Party, who noted in his diary only that he and his fellow travelers were having "a hard winter," with a tremulous questioner at the second presidential debate last fall who begged the three candidates to acknowledge that "we are your children." Such changes for the worse, in our behavior and in our character, prompted Bennett to assail the single pillar of James Carville's wisdom. "It is *not* the economy, stupid. . . . We showed the world that freedom is the bedrock of society. Now we must show the world that freedom can work."

It isn't as if Kemp and Bennett aren't speaking to each other. In fact, they are co-founders of Empower America, the newest of the conservative political/ideological space platforms. But they were saying distinctly different things at the Mayflower.

The other important political presence

at the Summit, Patrick Buchanan, did not say anything, since he wasn't there, but a fair amount was said about him. His former pollster, Frank Luntz, spoke after lunch on Saturday, while several other speakers beat Buchanan with assorted sticks. Most of the criticism of him was directed at his tone, as in these lines of Dan Quayle's former chief of staff, William Kristol: "Many of our forefathers came here to avoid religious wars. To go around proclaiming a religious war is probably not the way to appeal to a majority of the American people."

Buchanan did not "proclaim" a religious war in his famous speech to the Houston Convention, as I said in my own remarks in a panel Saturday morning; he simply observed that one was going on. But even that may be too bellicose for the American psyche. Every foreign war America has ever fought has had to be depicted as a pacific people's response to some act of aggression, from the tea tax to the invasion of Kuwait. So it is with domestic brawls. Fortunately the Left cannot help being aggressive, particularly on the cultural front. Over the course of the weekend several references were made to New York City's School District 24 and its successful defiance of the Rainbow Curriculum. A recent issue of *Tikkun*, the liberal Jewish magazine, contains a memo to Clinton from a lesbian rabbi asking him to "urge school systems across the country to adopt such curricula." To which conservatives can only respond: From your lips, to God's ears.

One story making the rounds of the summit was so good it was probably apocryphal. The Kemps and the Bennetts are spending a day together. One of the Bennett children is acting up. Kemp finally asks Bennett if he can't get his kid to pipe down. Bennett replies: "I've tried discipline. Should we give him capital?"

Capital, discipline, and Discipline Dark: those were options discussed at the Mayflower. We'll be hearing more of them from now till Des Moines. □

SPEECHES & PANELS

AFTER THE REAGAN REVOLUTION

JACK KEMP: You cannot have a democratic capitalist economy without capital. Capital is education. Capital is what a mother teaches her daughter. Capital is when a father inspires his son, or vice versa. Capital is the chance to own a piece of property.

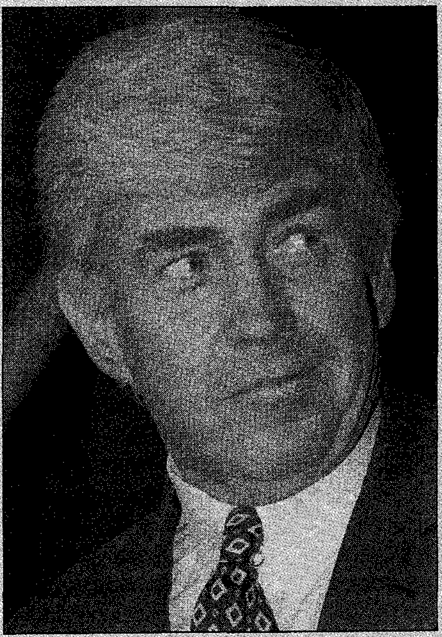
When government makes decisions as to who is to get the capital, it always, invariably, makes mistakes.

Imagine four people coming to the United States Congress and the Clinton Administration for capital or credit. One is an unemployed African-American. The second is a college dropout whose friends call him "nothing but a nerd." The third is a haberdasher who went broke. And the fourth is, say, General Motors—which comes down with a team of lobbyists and lawyers in order to get the government to bend the tax code or to bend the program in their direction. I'm not picking on GM: I'm talking about the big guy verses the nerd, and the college dropout, and the unemployed African-American, and a haberasher who failed. You know who gets the government's support; you know who's going to be the beneficiary of President Clinton's government-led investment policies.

If government were making these decisions, we never would have had Microsoft. Bill Gates, the college dropout, would never have had the chance to start Microsoft. John Johnson would never have been able to start *Ebony* and *Jet* magazine. According to *Forbes*, he is now one of the leading black entrepreneurs in America. He had $400 as a young black man growing up in Chicago after World War II and he sold his mother's furniture, with her consent [laughter], to start one of the great publishing success stories in America. The unemployed haberdasher was Sam Walton—Wal-mart.

Government does not create jobs, entrepreneurs create jobs. It was Ronald Reagan, by combatting the Seventies regulatory and tax-and-spending policies, who unleashed, not just the 19 million new jobs, but the four and a half million new enterprises in eight years. The greatest non-inflationary economic growth period in this century, and they said it couldn't be done. They said cutting taxes would be inflationary, it would only reward the rich. Nonsense. According to the Urban Institute, 87 per cent of those 19 million new jobs were middle and upper income. There was a 45 per cent increase in black-owned businesses. There was a 57 per cent increase in Hispanic-owned businesses. There was a 75 per cent increase in female-owned businesses.

The problem is not that Reaganomics was a failure. The problem is we didn't carry it on. We didn't continue the process of taking the rates lower and flatter and fairer and simpler, reducing the level of IRS regulations from forty thousand pages to four. Or maybe one page, or maybe someday to a postcard.



Quarterbacks don't say: "Great. We lost the ball. Now we can turn it over to the defense."

We've got to stand for democratic entrepreneurial capitalism, private property, free markets, the values of our Jewish and Christian tradition, and make sure that the world becomes free in this decade. That's worth working for. That's worth fighting for. That's why tonight I will thank God that I'm alive on this earth at this moment in history to help make a contribution to the future of mankind.

HOW TO REGAIN THE FUTURE

KARLYN KEENE BOWMAN: As government's role has grown, it has become more controversial in the public mind. The number of Americans saying that the Federal Government has too much power has grown substantially since the LBJ era: 26 per cent gave that response in 1964; today nearly 40 per cent do. A virtually identical 40 per cent say the Federal Government is using the right amount of power for meeting today's needs. Significantly, only slightly over 1 in 10 today say the Federal Government should use its powers more vigorously to promote the well-being of all members of society.

That sentiment was echoed in the exit poll this November. When asked to choose, a majority of Americans (55 per cent) said they they wanted a government that cost less in taxes and provided fewer services, compared to 38 per cent who said that they wanted government to provide more services but cost more in taxes. A majority of Clinton supporters wanted bigger government; the opposite view prevailed among both Bush and Perot supporters.

In 1972, 74 per cent of Americans said they trusted the Federal Government a great deal or a fair amount; by 1992 that had dropped by more than 30 percentage points. In a new CBS/*New York Times* question asked last week, 69 per cent of Americans said the Federal Government creates more problems than it solves, while 22 per cent said it solves more problems than it creates. Majorities of both Republicans and Democrats felt this way.

CONSERVATISM AND THE DEMOCRATS

DAVID HOROWITZ: Clarity is the beginning of a winning political strategy. For those of us who are conservatives, the clarity required is not about Clinton and the Left—we are pretty shrewd about these subjects. It is a clarity about us. The clarity needed is this: we are no longer the conservative ruling class, the guardians of both culture and state. That is the past and it is over. Instead, we are contenders on an open plain, vying for control of America's institutions, contesting the future on a level field.

If we think like the conservatives of old we are going to lose this battle. We cannot sit, as conservatives are wont to sit, complacent in the assumption that the culture is "ours," and "they" are interlopers who will eventually be exposed by their lack of civility and breeding. We have to know that we can lose this battle if we fail to act. That is the great lesson of the post-Sixties era. The ground that has been won by the Left is ground that has never really been contested. The battle to take back the universities, for example, has only just begun. The battle in and for the media has hardly been started. For conservatives, the business of America has continued to be *business*. That attitude must now change. Until this conflict is decided, the business of conservative Americans must cease to be merely business and must become the struggle for the cultural and political future of these United States.

KATE WALSH O'BEIRNE: To get a few good things done and to stop abominations, one needs a certain level of Democratic support on Capitol Hill. But the key to a successful alliance is to know exactly what the result should be, which is why moderate Republicans should be barred by law from *ever* working with Democrats. They inevitably wind up giving bipartisan support and conservative rhetoric to appalling liberal initiatives. The examples are legion: deficit reduction, the Clean Air Act that was going to use market incentives, the Civil Rights Act that contained no quotas, the 1988 Welfare Reform Act that was going to impose work requirements in exchange for welfare—these were all passed with conservative rhetoric. Conservatives, and only conservatives, should be working with Democrats.

JOHN MCLAUGHLIN: We have to remember that Clinton got only 43 per cent of the vote—it was less than what Dukakis got. Clinton's vote is decidedly liberal—2 to 1 liberal in its base. He is going to have a very hard time appeasing that base and reaching out to people who voted for Perot and Bush. Bush's vote was 60 per cent conservative. Perot's vote was 2 to 1 conservative. That's why Bill Clinton, in his Inaugural speech, went out of his way to say "it's not liberal or conservative." We're going to face four years of him blurring the ideological lines. The challenge for us is not to let him blur them.

SEXUAL POLITICS

HADLEY ARKES: If there really is an issue to be faced among us on the matter of homosexuality, that question would not be dissolved simply by confining the practice to the shelter of a discreet privacy. At the same time, though, there is the other side of the familiar line, "some of my best friends are . . . " We have, especially within this family of conservatives, friends who are gay, who have been part of this conservative movement for a long while. Some have paid a price for standing with the conservatives in the political and culture wars, but that is clearly where their judgment brings them. They are the most loyal allies, the steadiest friends, and men of the most refined judgments. At war or dinner, they may be the best companions; and let's face it: who wouldn't rather spend an evening with Noël Coward than with Al Gore?

David Horowitz, former Ramparts *editor, urges a little intolerance.*

RALPH REED: In 1950 the average family of four in America paid 2 per

MAGGIE GALLAGHER: The purpose of marriage as an institution is the protection of women in their childbearing roles. To the extent that we undermine the public understanding of this procreative role of marriage, we are distracting attention and misplacing priorities.

In the traditional view, although homosexual acts are a sin, they are not the only sexual sin. Certainly the sexual practices which are causing the most damage in this culture are those of heterosexuals—the children of the poor in particular are paying the highest price for the sexual liberation of the well-to-do. Until we recover this understanding of the primacy of married sex for its procreative dimensions, Andrew will seem much more plausible than he really deserves to be.

ANDREW SULLIVAN: Marriage domesticates men; it sort of ends the great torrent of sexual conquests and says: Sit down, shut up, and get on with certain responsibilities. You have a culture of single males with no females at all in the gay male culture; no wonder there is what seems to me erratic behavior. If you want to deal with that, then give them responsibilities too. In fact, they need it twice as much as heterosexual men.

MONA CHAREN: Andrew, I wish that were true, but I have to disagree with you. I don't think it's marriage that civilizes men, I think it's women. We have the statistics about the behavior of lesbians versus homosexual males. What you find, not surprisingly, is that lesbians tend to have few sexual partners over a lifetime and tend to form stable relationships that last a long time, and homosexual men tend to be quite promiscuous. Just as heterosexual men and women behave.

SULLIVAN: So, lesbian marriage and not gay male marriage, is that right?

ARKES: I have this apprehension that ten years from now we may be meeting here talking about the alarming level of divorce among homosexual couples, and I hope and I gather that we won't find Andrew locked in a bitter dispute over who gets custody of the children.

cent of their adjusted gross income in the form of either federal payroll or income taxes. Today that figure is 24 per cent. The standard deduction for children has gone from $600 in 1946 to $2,150 today. If that figure had kept pace with inflation, it would be $7,800. If we had kept pace with inflation, no family with a combined household income less than $32,000 would pay a dime of payroll or income taxes.

The census of 1990 identified that the second income in American households brings in only 27 per cent of the total income of the household. So you have 24 per cent of the household's income going to taxes, and then you have someone else leaving the home, leaving the health and welfare and concern and nurture and love of young children, in order to earn just enough money to pay for the tax burden—and maybe for day care.

LAW & DISORDER

ROBERT BORK: At the center of our culture wars lies the judiciary and particularly the Supreme Court. Our two parties are polarized on what kind of judges we should have, and there is a political struggle now for control of the law and for control of the Constitution. Obviously, the selection of judges was one of the highlights of the Bush Administration, an area in which the Reagan Administration also did very well. We're now going to see a very considerable shift in the selection of judges with the new co-Presidency. I have been advising conservatives to consider digging catacombs.

But the importance of the Court is more than legal, is more than political, it's cultural. The actors on both sides understand that. The attitudes the Court teaches about patriotism and flag burning, about family and obscene literature, about personal morality and promiscuity, about equality and racial and sexual preferences, about religion and the need to abolish it from public life, those attitudes resonanate throughout our culture with far greater effect than the impact of any individual decision. And that is why the Court has become a battleground in our cultural wars and why appointments have now become subjects of political campaigns. If you look at where we start now, the present Court, even before any liberal nominees come from the Clinton Administration, has proved itself to be an activist and rather unrestrained court. And obviously in the foreseeable future it is not about to become a conservative or restrained Court. So we are now in a state of constitutional disorder.

AMERICA: DOES IT STILL HAVE A WORLD ROLE?

MALCOLM WALLOP: It seems to me almost inconceivable that, at the end of one of the most violent centuries in history, where the darkest forces of evil came to confront us time after time, and each time the free world and particularly America rose up and defeated Nazism, Communism, totalitarianism of every dimension, and after each of those great struggles we set down our arms and declared the end of history only to find that our sons and daughters were being killed again our energies being diverted again—it seems inconceivable that we would do it again. Yet we are . . .

Bruce Herschensohn, John O'Sullivan: What will George Stephanopoulos say next?

PETER RODMAN: There's a new group of people in town, a group of people who expected, with the Cold War over, that they would be able to concentrate on the foreign-policy issues of the "New Age," ranging from the sublime, like the promotion of democracy, to a lot of issues like saving the whales, furry animals, and the ozone layer. But history has played a cruel joke on them: they are about to be hit with a barrage of very traditional, hardball national-security challenges, challenges that these people thought were obsolete, issues on which the responsibility of America is indisputable.

One of my nightmares has to do with Islamic fundamentalism in Egypt or Saudi Arabia. What happens if the ruler of one of these countries feels he has to crack down on this group of anti-Western fanatics, and he turns to the U.S. and says, Will you support me if I do this? Will we say: No, we will dissociate from you if you violate human rights? Will we explain to him that Islamic fundamentalism has deep-seated socio-economic causes, that these people represent legitimate popular grievances?

We have in our government some of the same people who were in office 12 or so years ago when the Shah of Iran faced exactly the same challenge. We are still paying the price.

I have another nightmare (this is like Martin Luther King's speech in reverse). This one has to do with Japan and Germany. The day that our security links with these countries are weakened or severed, look for major destabilization of Europe and the Far East. Look for a major shaking and weakening of the structure of international politics.

There are people in this country, well represented in the new Administration, who are itching to bash Japan and Europe over trade issues. These are people that Herb Stein calls "economic skinheads." There are people in this Administration committed to pulling our troops out of Europe, to a level 40 to 50 per cent below what President Bush and Secretary Cheney and Colin Powell thought was safe. With Russia in turmoil and China ascendant and North Korea a menace, I think that pulling the plug on our major democratic alliances is not what is called for. It is in fact suicidal for the United States.

Fond as I am of whales, furry animals, and the ozone layer, *this* is what the strategic agenda of the Nineties is going to look like. And I pray that our new leaders are psychologically and intellectually equipped to confront these problems—and not compound them.

JEANE KIRKPATRICK: We have seen in this past year a fairly clear reflection of the capacities and incapacities of the United Nations. President George Bush really tried very hard to utilize the United Nations as a framework for collective response in Iraq and Somalia. In both cases an American initiative and American leadership and American military forces operated under a series of constraints which in fact inhibited our effectiveness to perform the tasks which those forces were organized to perform. In Iraq it seems clear that if, as the President said, the principal reason that the U.S. military operation was stopped before the bases of Saddam's power had been destroyed—if the grounds for that were the objections of our coalition allies and the nature of the mandate to which he had agreed, then we would have to say that that mandate not only enabled but it disabled.

The United Nations as an instrument for acting against serious military threats and serious aggression lacks all of the qualities needed for effective action. It lacks unity, it lacks dispatch, it lacks expertise, it lacks resources, and finally it lacks popular support, almost anywhere—especially in those countries which it is presumably assisting. It is literally the case that Boutros-Ghali found it necessary to escape by helicopter from Somalia because the UN has grown so unpopular there. In Bosnia, of course, it is dangerous for UN officials to move around unescorted at night because there is such profound resentment among the population for the failure of the UN officials not only to solve the problems of civilian populations under heavy fire but even to offer them much sympathy. The UN will not solve the problem of disorder in this postwar world. The United States cannot be assured of security and survival and peace and prosperity unless we provide it ourselves.

REGAINING LOST GROUND

CHARLES MURRAY: There are three foundations of thought about welfare reform. The first is that the single woman with children is not a viable economic unit for the vast majority of mankind. For the Murphy Browns of the world it is, but there are not very many Murphy Browns. Throughout history and continuing today, to raise a family with children you really need to have two adults responsible for that family because you need the person power that's associated with both taking care of the children and bringing in enough resources.

Robert Woodson
Chester Finn

Charles Murray, Robert Woodson, and Chester Finn see nothing funny in the state of American society.

Second, children need biological fathers for more than just money. This is something about which social scientists know a lot more than they did ten years ago. I feel a little bit silly saying that because there are many of you in this room who may think that you were already aware that children need fathers before the social scientists started to prove it. But there has been a lot of work done in this area in the last decade; I no longer have very many people who follow the data on these issues saying to me, "Oh, a single mother can be just as good a parent as the intact nuclear family if only we'd give her a decent level of support." There are all sorts of ways in which social scientists can now prove that the presence of the father makes a big difference. For one thing, young males are a very problematic sex, from the time we're infants. We start to whine more and cry more and we're more active in a variety of other things than girls. But what really happens is that we hit puberty and that testosterone starts sloshing around: we are dangerous unless we have been socialized into adult behavior, into responsible sexual behavior, and also into the way it is that males should get up every morning and go to work even if they don't feel like it. It turns out fathers have to be around to teach those things and it's very hard for a mother alone to do that job very well. Young girls also need fathers. That is also becoming increasingly apparent: that they need fathers for all kinds of things, that when the father abandons them that has deep repercussions on their psychological functioning, which creates a great many problems.

Third, and this is a tough one to say openly: a lot of the women who end up on the welfare rolls tend to make bad mothers. (Not exonerating the fathers who aren't there.) The more we learn about the nature of the home environments and the upbringing of children who are born to young, single, poor, poorly educated women, the more we are finding out that they are growing up with absolutely horrendous conditions in large numbers. And it is not good enough to say, Well, won't we create suffering if we have certain kinds of welfare reforms? We have to come to grips with the degree of suffering that's going on out there right now. If you talk to any cop, any social worker, about their daily life, they can confirm this. The social scientists are finally, in their own bloodless way, coming to grips with the problem as well. We have a major problem that has nothing to do with welfare cheats, has nothing to do with getting women to work if they've been on welfare. It has everything to do with creating a situation in which children are born with two mature adults ready to take responsibility for their care.

Economy & Enterprise

Paul Craig Roberts: Another obstacle to the growth of the private sector appears to be the Federal Reserve's commitment to the view that the cause of inflation is growth of private-sector income and employment. My good friend Alan Greenspan, unless I have misunderstood him, on numerous occasions has said that inflation can't get out of hand as long as income remains level or grows slowly. In other words, the way we pull down prices is to hold down growth. Now this is the Phillips Curve, which has been buried for a decade, the view that there are tradeoffs between employment and inflation. If we want more employment, more income growth, we have to accept a higher rate of inflation. If you want to fight inflation, you have to accept a rise in unemployment. Now I thought the economic expansion that went on for eight years, and created 18 million new jobs while inflation collapsed, had finished off the Phillips Curve.

Dinesh and Dixie D'Souza, pondering Shakespeare's status as Dead White Male.

Kirk Fordice: The state level is where, as they used to say, the rubber hits the road. You can't back up, you can't hide and you can't make excuses like Ron Brown saying, Well, I thought maybe Doc Duvalier was a pediatrician. If you're a governor of a sovereign state you can't get away with that. The buck truly does stop there.

Llewellyn Rockwell: The Clinton Administration looks like it's going to fully enforce the Americans with Disabilities Act, probably the craziest piece of egalitarian legislation ever passed. This is a law which makes it illegal to discriminate against the crazy or the stupid. You may think I'm kidding about that, but in the law, people who have trouble reasoning, people who have difficulty remembering, may not be discriminated against. If you're hiring a salesman, and you'd like him to be able to remember the customers and the products he's out selling—you're a bigot, for wanting to not hire someone who can't.

Health Care: Does America Get All It Pays For?

John Goodman: We do have health-care problems, and our biggest problem is rising costs. As an economist I've never doubted that why we have this problem is that you and I can go into the medical marketplace today and spend someone else's money. This is the *only* country that allows people to consume everything from cholesterol tests to CAT scans and send the bill to someone else. Why are we using third-party insurers to buy everything in sight? The answer is the tax law. An extra dollar of premium your employer gives to Blue Cross avoids a 28 per cent income tax, it avoids a 15.3 per cent FICA tax, it avoids a 4, 5, 6 per cent state and local income tax; in effect, government's paying half the premium.

Culture, Language, And Nationality

Dinesh D'Souza: William Shakespeare, I will freely admit, was a white male. He may have been a heterosexual, I don't know. But this is not particularly relevant to any consideration of his plays. Why do we read Shakespeare? He was a white male, but so were a lot of other poets who composed in Elizabethan England. Why is Shakespeare so great, why do we read him instead of someone else? Is it because a small cabal of white males got together and said, Well, he's whiter than any of us? Or more masculine (an impression belied by the standard portrait)? My point is that obviously Shakespeare's appeal has to do with his sonnets and plays, which are thought to surpass other works.

What we are witnessing in our curriculum now is a kind of weird cultural Olympics in which every group comes to the reading list and asks: "What did my guys do?" Now this is a very strange question. It assumes that knowledge and ideas, entire cultures that existed hundreds if not thousands of years ago, are the property of particular groups that happen to be walking about today. It is almost as though young white guys get up in the morning and have a big smile on their face when they look in the mirror because, you know, Homer wrote the *Iliad*. This notion of culture as constituting an ethnic patent is antithetical to what education is all about.

R. EMMETT TYRRELL: We aren't victims of bad ideas, as the liberals are, or victims of a tendency to over-politicize issues. We are victims of our own temperament, which isn't political. Just as an alcoholic must do something about his compulsive temperament—and God knows I try—we conservatives have to do something about our temperament, and it's a very simple thing: we have to keep each other in mind. We have to keep in mind all of our ideas, we have to exchange ideas, we have to mention each other's work, books, magazines, we've got to argue too. We've got to interact. We've got a counterculture out there, we've got writers out there, magazines out there, academics, cultural figures like Tom Wolfe, and we've got to talk about them, to celebrate ourselves, to analyze ourselves, to disagree with each other, but to fight that temperament that inclines us to take our NATIONAL REVIEW home at night, read it, put it under the bed, and not let anyone know what's in that magazine, or not let the editors know what in that magazine we think is valuable.

JOSEPH SOBRAN: Any two cultures are likely to hold rival and at some points incompatible conceptions of human nature, to be both parallel and opposite but at some point incommensurate. *Black Robe*, directed by Bruce Beresford, deals wonderfully well with the tragicomedy of intercultural encounter. It deals with a Jesuit priest who is a missionary in Canada around the 1630s, and it treats the Indians with a kind of objective respect precisely because it doesn't shrink from showing what we regard as the superstitions and cruelties of their cultures. In this respect it contrasts with such sentimental films as *The Mission* and *Dances with Wolves*, in which the red man becomes our old friend the noble savage, one of the persistent fantasies of the West. The Noble Savage is fantasy because it projects Western ideals on people who have never even heard of those ideals, it imagines that though we fall short of our standards despite our aspirations to them, other people can somehow realize those standards—and realize them effortlessly without knowing them.

REUNITING THE REAGAN COALITION

WILLIAM KRISTOL: In terms of the future of the conservative movement, the most fundamental problem is timidity, especially about the social issues, which I believe will be at the heart of the emerging conservative majority. Running away from the social issues would be a terrible mistake. James Carville, Clinton's strategist, sold the country, or sold at least the political class, on the notion that "It's the economy, stupid." It's really not the economy. Obviously it helps to run in a stronger rather than a weaker economy, but what it means to have a governing majority is that you can survive some downturns or slowdowns. Otherwise you're simply dependent on wherever the economy is in four year snap-shots, or two-year snapshots, and no one, even with the best economic policy, can ensure against business cycles.

It's really not the economy, stupid. It is the character of society we want for our children. Now that's related to the economy. Two things we know: economic growth, and good economic policies, can help—if not solve, at least ameliorate—many of the social problems we have. In other words, good economic policy helps on the social issues. More important, it has become utterly clear, in the last decade or two, that our economic problems are themselves social problems. Common sense suggests, and thirty years of social science also suggests, that the character of the people, the habits, the discipline, and the educational level, all these social issues, are key to our economic well-being. To try to put social issues aside, and simply become a party of purely economic growth, I think would be a terrible mistake. I think it would be false to the data, as it were. Typically, we have some short-sighted politicians fleeing from the social issues. (Politicians always tend to drive looking in the rear-view mirror, I've found.) The fact is, precisely those people who have been among our leaders on economic thinking—Bob Bartley, Jude Wanniski—are now coming even more strongly to appreciate the centrality of the social issues.

Obviously these social issues have to be treated with some care and tact. The American people do not want to engage in a religious war. The key political task for conservatives is to build a new conservative majority that stretches from what Bob Bartley calls the seriously religious through the culturally conservative, all the way to common-sensical Middle America. There is a conservative majority there, waiting to be built. It can't be built with excessive sectarianism, or by leaders who might prefer a kind of dramatic martyrdom in defeat to a principled victory. But if we have enough leaders who do want to shape a governing majority, and want to lead us to principled victory, we can remain very optimistic about the conservative future, and the American future.

MEETING THE NEW DEMOCRATIC CHALLENGE

CONSTANCE HORNER: Being a Republican inside the Beltway, I've had a chance up front to become acquainted with some of our finest political tacticians and handlers. And I want to say that they are wonderful people and they make a contribution. But increasingly the tacticians and handlers have been granted equal status in our party and in our policy life with those who have a mission to lead. The result has been a blurring between leadership and tactics that has become apparent to, and has revolted, the general public. So one of the first things we have to do is say to the tacticians: "We need your work but we don't need to hear you on the Sunday-morning talk shows, talking about how to manipulate the American people and doing so right to their faces in the most inconceivably insulting manner, as if they didn't have some true and straight ideas about what they wanted to have done."

We need to get away from that mentality and focus again on what must be done for the general good of the country, both what the country tells us must be done and, frankly, what we, based on our human experiences and on our conservative principles, simply *believe* must be done. The pollsters have gotten above themselves, and need to be put back.

Newt Gingrich: Robert Reich wants job training, lots of job training. Now, the most powerful job-training program in the world, that introduces more entry-level workers to the habits of work than any other system, is called McDonald's. It employs a million people worldwide, and if you were to find the number of CEOs of small companies who had their first job when they went to work for McDonald's, you would be astonished at the impact it has had.

One of the least productive training programs in America is called the Job Corps. A recent study indicates that if two people are standing nearby and one goes into the Job Corps and the other doesn't, the one who didn't is likely to have the higher average lifetime income.

It will be a real test of Clinton's common sense to see if he can figure out that the trick is to lower the tax on the program that works, so it hires more, and not raise the tax on the one that works to subsidize the one that fails. This will be one of the first indications of whether he has understood much of the twentieth century beyond MTV.

Tony Brown: Busing is dumb for two reasons. One is the ignorance of the fact that African American culture is equal to anyone else's, and we are not a mentally inferior group who must be bused across town and sit next to people of European descent to learn to read, write, and count. The second difficulty with busing, is this: Only 16 to 17 per cent of white Americans finish college. About 46 per cent of Asian Americans finish college. So, if you want to bus Tony Brown, bus him to Chinatown.

Pete duPont gives George Will, Linda Bridges a preview of his gloomy thoughts about the Republican losing streak.

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL?

Fred Barnes: The green lobby is probably the strongest lobby in Washington. Look at the clout they demonstrated just in the transition to the Clinton Presidency. Clinton's first choice to be the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors was Larry Summers. He was nixed because he once suggested that maybe polluting industries ought to be in Third World countries, that they needed to build up their economies and so on, a perfectly rational statement. Environmentalists hated it, and Larry Summers is not the chief economist at the White House. Bill Richardson, a half-Hispanic congressman from New Mexico, was slated to be the interior secretary. The environmentalists raised Cain about him and he was dropped in favor of Bruce Babbitt, who is a fanatic about the Endangered Species Act and believes that most land in the country should be publicly owned. This created another problem for Bill Clinton, because losing the Hispanic on the Cabinet, the Hispanics raised Cain and he had to put one somewhere else. So then he had to appoint Federico Pena, the former mayor of Denver, as his transportation secretary, which meant that he had to remove the guy he had promised the job to, Bill Daley, a banker in Chicago who happens to be the brother of the mayor. A very, very risky decision on Clinton's part, but think about how far he was willing to go to do that. And what started the whole thing was the pressure from the environmental groups. There were only two people who got into the Cabinet over the objection of the environmental lobby, and the objections were not made very strongly because Mike Espy and Hazel O'Leary both happen to be black.

R. J. Smith: The old conservationist belief in a possible, a likely, harmony of industry and nature disappeared. Nobody was worried any more about getting incentives right. Originally in the conservation movement if people were worried about protecting wetlands, they'd look around and see what were the incentives for saving them or getting rid of them. If the Department of Agriculture is paying farmers to drain wetlands, well of course they're going to disappear. But this didn't mean that modern agriculture was wrong, it meant that the subsidies were wrong. But that belief disappeared, and we got this new paradigm, which was that you are either liberal and pro-environment, or conservative and pro-business. Not only is that paradigm false, it's very dangerous. We started bringing up children who thought, well, capitalism's pretty neat, it makes automobiles, TVs, refrigerators, and so on, but as an unhappy by-product, it destroys the planet. Even worse, that paradigm became self-fulfilling: conservatives correctly viewed environmentalists as left-liberals, and therefore they paid little if any heed to the concerns of the environmentalists. The only response they had was to ridicule the environmentalists' concerns.

THE DINNER

BRUCE HERSCHENSOHN: Why are there so many taxes? Because there are so many things on which the Federal Government wants to spend that money. Today's Federal Government is filled with those who believe the purpose of government is not in establishing justice, but in establishing a pristine environment; not in ensuring domestic tranquillity, but in ensuring an unending higher-financed infrastructure—whatever that means; not in providing for the common defense, but in providing common health care; not in promoting the general welfare, but in providing a risk-free society; and not in securing the blessings of liberty, but in securing the blessings of government's approval. And along with those changes to the Preamble to the Constitution, there are dozens and dozens of additions scribbled in the margins of the Bill of Rights—compensated, one supposes, by the erasures they've made of Amendment Two, Amendment Five, and Amendment Ten.

When the state assumes more and more duties, as it has, it assumes more and more of the citizens' funds, as it has, and so automatically assumes more and more of the citizens' time, as it has, and it automatically, then, assumes more and more of the citizens' destiny, as it has.

We who at this time of American history are called conservatives are holding on to the fragility of the hopes of our Founders. Our task, our duty, our mission, and I believe our destiny, is to make the work of our Founders permanent. It is the greatest pursuit in human history, because our degree of success will determine the immortality of those Americans who came before us, and the quality of life for those Americans and citizens of the world yet unborn.

ALAN KEYES: In the course of this next year, you can count on a number of things. The great tax cutters of the election year will become the great tax raisers of the next four years. If one thing must be on our agenda, it is to sound once again the battle cry: "No taxes: no new taxes, no old taxes, we are taxed enough." Let that battle cry sound in the capital of the United States, let it sound in all the state governments around the country. Because you see, the issue of taxes is not just the money. Every dollar we send to Washington is a dollar we don't get to decide how to spend. It's a decision we don't make for our families, for our communities. It's a responsibility that we can no longer bear. And a people that can no longer bear its responsibilities soon becomes a people unwilling to meet those responsibilities, and then we have suffered the greatest loss of all: a loss of our character as a free people.

LINDA CHAVEZ: We live in dangerous times, made more dangerous because so few seem to recognize the peril. We are in danger of fragmenting into hundreds of rival factions, where race, ethnicity, gender, language make their claim on our loyalty. We are daily called to *emphasize* our differences rather than transcend them—and nowhere more loudly than in our public schools. We have gone way beyond pluralism, to insist that the first duty of our schools is to teach children the stories of their ancestral past. Are my children to look to Aztec kings and Mayan princes, to Miguel Hidalgo and Benito Juarez as their heroes, as if George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln were reserved "for whites only"? . . . Two-thirds of all children from Spanish-speaking homes are taught to read in Spanish when they enter first grade in American public schools—and many are kept for years in classrooms where Spanish is the language of instruction. School administrators seem to view assimilation with disdain, as if their duty to immigrant children is to preserve their past rather than to prepare them for the future.

For more than two hundred years, this nation has survived because we have been able to forge a common identity dedicated to a common purpose. We have made a nation and created a people. We have shed our own blood to preserve that union and to extend its privileges ever more broadly. It is that sense of ourselves as *one people* sharing *a common destiny* that we are in danger of losing.

JOHN O'SULLIVAN: Americans are patriotic. People come to this country to become Americans. They do not journey here in order to remain Peruvians or Cambodians or Italians, even though they may privately cherish the symbols of their original cultures and nations. I hope that no one will feel the comparison offensive, but it's like the major-general in *The Pirates of Penzance* who reckoned that since he'd bought an estate and since the estate contained a graveyard and since the graveyard contained ancestors, he'd bought some ancestors and they were now his own. Well, all Americans are like that really. They come here and they reckon that they have acquired ancestors—namely the Founding Fathers—and they've acquired the linguistic and political culture that went with them.

A CONSERVATIVE PEOPLE, A LIBERAL CULTURE

NORMAN PODHORETZ: Affirmative action and quotas represent the most radical assault yet on the traditional American ethos. It is an assault on the idea that was the revolutionary principle of the American Revolution, and still is a revolutionary principle: the idea that it doesn't matter who your father was. The counter-revolutionary principle to which we are now succumbing is that all individuals are to be judged by their ancestry, by the group to which they belong—racial, ethnic, religious, sexual. This movement has flourished to such a point that there has hardly been a peep against Clinton, who has quite nakedly formed a government on the basis of a quota system.

Recently, in the *New York Times*, there was a wonderful little statement that sums up the easy acceptance of this monstrous perversion of the central ethos of the American tradition. Said the *New York Times*: "Women's groups were clearly not dismayed when Zoë Baird's nomination sank, and expressed confidence that Mr. Clinton would choose another woman. 'But if it was a black male,' said an Administration official, they 'would have to take it.'" And a headline in the *Washington Post* heralded the extraordinary man-bites-dog news: "Man Being Considered for Attorney General."

L. Brent Bozell III: The most potent political force in America today is coming out of the entertainment community. Robert Lichter surveyed the Hollywood elite several years ago: 45 per cent said that they didn't believe in God; 93 per cent said they seldom or never attended a religious service; 97 per cent supported abortion; 67 per cent supported homosexuality, and 57 per cent believed that adultery was permissible.

These values are easily detectable in Hollywood's works. For example, we looked at every single prime-time television show during a two-year period to see how religion was discussed. In one episode of *thirtysomething* (an otherwise liberal show), there was a very strong statement supporting Judaism; two other installments made positive statements about Catholicism. Those were the only three episodes of any program on prime-time television, in the two-year period, that showed religion in a positive light.

Now, what effect does all this have? You might say, "This has had no effect on me. I don't watch these silly shows." Consider this: By the time the average high-school student has graduated, he will have spent more time in front of a television than in the classroom learning from a teacher. And I ask you, who is the teacher in American society today?

Lionel Chetwynd: There's a great scene in *Lawrence of Arabia* where Jack Hawkinson is playing Earl Wavell, and he refers to the Arab revolt and he says, "Don't you understand? The war in the desert is a sideshow—the real war is in the trenches. The real war is Europe, and Arab revolt is a sideshow of a sideshow." Mr. Bozell, you are concentrating on the Arab revolt; the real war is in the trenches in Europe, and Hollywood is so irrelevant, in a large way, to what's going on. It is significant, yes, and it's a factor in our daily life. But it is much more complicated than that. Remember, at a time when Hollywood was selling *Father Knows Best*, *Beach Party Bingo*, projecting that view of an ideal America to people who swore by it and grew up with it—later they became the people who came and spilled into the streets of the Sixties. Hollywood is more frequently a wave coming in while the tide is going out than it is an influence.

Brent Bozell tells Henry Hyde, Lionel Chetwynd: You won't believe what was on NBC last night!

Closing Remarks

William Bennett: As I go around the country and I talk to people, I get a sense that people understand that although we live well in this country, something's missing. We live well, but we do not always live nobly. I think that this is what's behind the right-track/wrong-track questions that we have seen gaining prominence in the political debates.

If you think we are doing well, consider the following: In 1940 teachers were asked what they regarded as the three major problems in American schools. They identified the three major problems as: littering, noise, and chewing gum. Teachers last year were asked what the three major problems in American schools were, and they defined them as: rape, assault, and suicide. This is not cultural progress; this is serious cultural decline. Part of the conversation that we as conservatives have to have with the country is a hard conversation about what we think, what we believe, what we are prepared to do for ourselves, and what we want the government to do for us.

For me, the most poignant moment of the campaign was during the famous Richmond debate, when the man with the pony tail asked the candidates, "We are symbolically your children, we have our needs, what will you do to take care of us, and take care of our needs?" Here is a grown man, asking three men who are running for President what the government will do, and framing it in this way. It would have been refreshing and it would have been bracing, for any one of them to have said, "I am not your father."

I saw in that man's question the specter of what Margaret Thatcher called "the nanny state," the state that takes too much from us in order to do too much for us. As long as we keep insisting that the state do too much for us, it will keep on taking too much from us.

If we don't pay attention to these cultural things, as difficult as they are to talk about, we will miss the point. In C. S. Lewis's *Screwtape Letters*, the devil advises one of the younger devils, "Always have them focusing on the wrong thing. Keep them distracted. If there's a flood, have them reaching for the fire hoses." And so almost the entire campaign was based upon the economy, on the idea that we must be so miserable because of the economy.

In 1940, 93 per cent of the black population in America was in poverty. In 1990, 31 per cent of the black population was in poverty. In 1940, 65 per cent of the white population was poor; in 1990, 10 per cent of the white population was poor. Poverty today is *nothing* like what it was in the past. But in that same period of time, our crime problems have increased by more than 400 per cent. Teenage pregnancies have skyrocketed; SAT scores have declined 80 points in three decades; and there are other things, such as AIDS and the drug epidemic, which we wouldn't even have paid much attention to back in those years. Anybody who thinks that the problem is fundamentally economic is taking the wrong advice, Screwtape's advice.

In *The Abolition of Man*, C. S. Lewis says, "We laugh at honor, and are shocked to find traitors in our midst." There are all sorts of analogies to this on the cultural level. For the last twenty years, lots of people have been having a field day making fun of *Ozzie and Harriet* and scoffing at the nuclear family. As a result, 50 per cent of marriages in our country end in divorce. We have scoffed about the idea of self-discipline, the idea expressed so well in the old hymn, words that say "confirm thy soul in self-control." As a result, we have two million hard-core drug addicts in the United States of America. We have scoffed at the idea of law and order, and so we see a more than 600 per cent increase in violent crime since 1960. And we see that three out of four people convicted of violent crimes do not go to prison.

Republicans often make this mistake; I used to hear it all the time in the Cabinet room, and it used to drive me crazy. They would say, "The economy, the economy, and the economy." Democrats said it this time, and they won an election by getting us all to believe that the economy was the major problem—as if, as sometimes seems to be a Republican article of faith, the pocketbook is the only measure of the American people. Remember what it is that people do with what's in their pocketbook. One of the things they do is spend the contents of their pocketbook on their children.

Bill Kristol, Paul Gigot wondering who will be picked next for the Clinton Cabinet.

If you don't think that these matters are important, think about last year when we had the riots in Los Angeles. All the talk in the country about the economy and everything else was put on hold while we all looked into the cauldron of Los Angeles for a week and a half. The economy is a very important issue because the economy is the engine of our society. But what happened in Los Angeles is about the soul of our society. The soul of our society matters every bit as much; indeed, it matters more.

RECONNECTING AMERICA

Pete duPont

ELECTIONS NOT only represent the aggregate voice of a democracy, they are also democracies' report cards. This year, by any objective measurement, conservatives failed—again.

The party of the conservatives received less than 40 per cent of the vote for President. True, Ross Perot attracted many conservatives. True, the Republican candidate was not our strongest advocate. But we lost the so-called people's house of the national legislature for the twentieth consecutive time. Most governors are not conservative. Most state legislatures are not. And what about local governments—cities and towns? Are we doing any better there? Hardly!

When it comes to politics, we are America's second team. We occasionally have brilliant games, we often have brilliant players, but day in, day out, season after season, we are not the champions.

The sad fact is that America is not as conservative as the American people, because our culture is not as conservative as our society, and our government is not as conservative as our voters. Our major challenge as citizens and as conservatives is to understand these disconnections, or we will never truly govern.

There are several possible explanations for our impotence. It is possible that our values are no longer broadly shared, or that conservative candidates are not effective in advocating our ideas. A third possibility is that American voters—mostly conservative, but proud of their pragmatism—fail to see the utility of conservative solutions because they are educated into a liberal understanding of the problems.

Let me offer an example. In the 1970s, when America was in dire need of a tax cut, our politicians avoided a broad tax-cutting program because they assumed that it was not what the voters wanted. But in 1980, when Jack Kemp and Ronald Reagan offered a tax cut as a national policy alternative, the voters not only embraced the idea, but elected virtually every politician in sight who could mouth the words, "Ten-ten-ten."

Fast-forward to the 1990s, and we can see history repeating itself. Our taxes are again too high and our politicians are far from leading a crusade to lower them. Have Americans come to believe that a greater tax burden is now a good idea? Have our politicians again failed to recognize the power of the conservative majority on this issue? Or is the majority sentiment for low taxes is being undermined by a misunderstanding about the burden and consequence of current taxes?

For years I have believed the American public was fully prepared to embrace conservative ideas that represented genuine change—lower tax rates, Social Security privatization, and school choice; an end to welfare and an end to farm subsidies. I believed our problem was not the receptivity of the buyers but the timidity of the sellers.

I still believe that, but I've also come to suspect that our vision is misperceived by its viewers. I fear that a majority of Americans now reject our ideas because their cultural lens provides a false perspective.

For example, Americans may fully understand that an end to farm subsidies is a good idea that would reduce costs and lower the deficit, but still refuse to support a change because they believe that most farmers are small, low-income entrepreneurs backed only by the labor of their families. They like the idea of school choice, but they fear that the neighborhood school will disappear and see no better option coming along in its place.

If the "kultursmog," as Bob Tyrrell calls it, is preventing Americans from understanding either the nature of our challenges as a country or the merit of our solutions as conservatives, then we face a crucial disconnection between our candidates and our voters, between our government and our people, between our culture and our society. Until we repair it, the conservative losing streak will continue to lengthen.

One place to begin to explore the disconnections is to ask which, if any, of our ideas are enthusiastically understood and embraced by the majority. Which of our ideas can move people to vote for conservatives, move people to work in conservative campaigns, and move people to throw out entrenched liberal incumbents? Conversely, which of our ideas are right for America but not accepted by Americans?

As a starting point, we asked the participants in the Conservative Summit to indicate their estimate of public sentiment toward ten conservative policy propositions. We also asked them to formulate additional propositions of their own, and to indicate their estimate of public support.

The Summiteers predicted strong support for only two conservative propositions—across-the-board tax cuts and deficit reduction through spending cuts. Both of these proposals have been vigorously advocated by conservative candidates and officeholders for nearly twenty years.

On the eight other propositions, from pro-life with regard to abortion, to pro-choice with regard to permitting people to create their own retirement nest eggs in place of Social Security, to asking the government to shrink its role in health care, the assembled conservatives saw the American public in opposition to our positions—sometimes overwhelmingly so. They pegged public sentiment at just about 50 per cent for the proposition that we spend enough on our schools, 44 per cent for a clear pro-life position on abortion, 42 per cent for choice in Social Security, and 32 per cent for the idea that health-care solutions will come with less rather than more government involvement.

While the selection of these topics was arbitrary, it seems clear that the Summiteers cannot be surprised at the limited political success enjoyed by conservatives. They suggest by their answers that the public is not particularly enthralled by the specific directions and ideas we offer. It is hard to blame our candidates for losing when we arm them with ideas that are not winners.

The Summiteers gave frequent mention to only two themes of their own. Term limitation was cited by 16 per cent of the respondents, with an average projection of public support of 76 per cent. Nearly 20 per cent suggested a downsizing of government, projecting an average of 60 per cent public support for the idea.

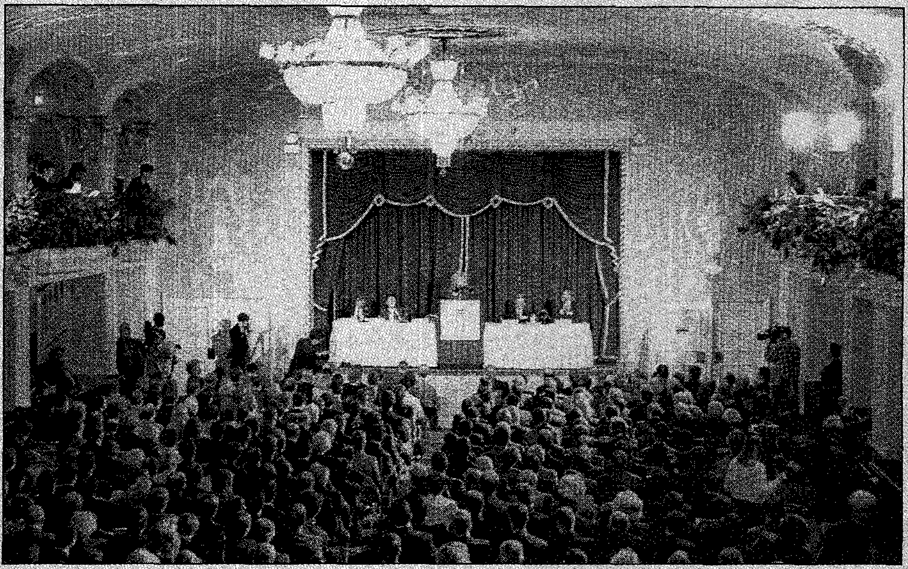
Research at the Roper Public Opinion Research Center at the University of Connecticut tended to confirm a general pessimism about public support for basic conservative ideas. For example, a Yankelovich survey for CNN this January indicated that 58 per cent of the public would rather reduce the deficit, compared to 33 per cent who believe that not increasing taxes is more important.

With regard to offering support to parents for exercising a private or religious schooling option, Yankelovich found only 23 per cent favoring the full choice position, while 64 per cent preferred that the government only spend money on government schools.

The suggestion that we are spending enough on public schools is another big loser—even more than the Summiteers predicted. An August 1992 Harris survey for *Business Week* showed 47 per cent wanting more school spending, 8 per cent less, and 43 per cent about the same—even if it meant higher taxes.

To be sure, there are some rays of light. A CBS/*New York Times* survey last September did find 55 per cent of the public indicating that "across the board tax cuts and a similar amount of cuts in government spending are a good idea"; only 25 per cent thought it was a bad idea.

Finally, I take some satisfaction that a 1988 Gallup survey for *Times Mirror* showed a virtual dead heat on the supposedly dangerously position I took in 1988 offering "a tax-free, private savings program to replace the Social Security system in the future": 36 per cent would support a candidate with that position, 38 per cent indicated opposition. Where was that 36 per cent when we needed them?

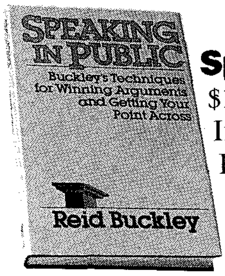


The Summiteers, more than 800 strong and itching to take the political initiative.

The disconnection in American democracy, then, is quite real. A majority gathers around conservative principles, but votes based on liberal biases. We are anti-tax and overtaxed. We are certain that our schools are failing our children, yet we pour money into those schools and protect their monopoly.

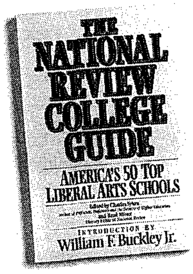
Until conservatives find a way to connect the electorate's principles (which are ours) with the electorate's preferred policy prescriptions (which almost always come from the Left), we will continue to have majority numbers and minority power. ☐

The Right Gifts for Any Occasion.


SPEAKING IN PUBLIC
Buckley's Techniques for Winning Arguments and Getting Your Point Across
Reid Buckley

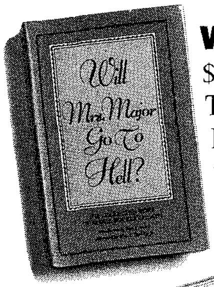
Speaking In Public
$17.95

If you fear public speaking, don't: Reid Buckley's acclaimed book gives the proven techniques on how to untie your tongue and communicate effectively.


THE NATIONAL REVIEW COLLEGE GUIDE
AMERICA'S 50 TOP LIBERAL ARTS SCHOOLS
INTRODUCTION BY William F. Buckley Jr.

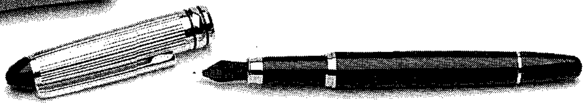
The National Review College Guide
$14.95

If you have or know a child looking at colleges, then you must have this best-selling guide to America's Top 50 liberal arts schools.


Will Mrs. Major Go To Hell?

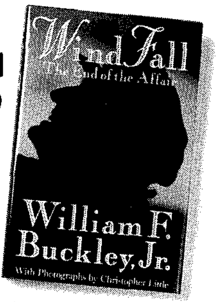
Will Mrs. Major Go To Hell?
$16.95

The tender, poignant collection of Aloise Buckley Heath's famous stories (you won't find it in bookstores) makes a wonderful gift. "A Trapp Family Christmas With the Heaths" is a classic.



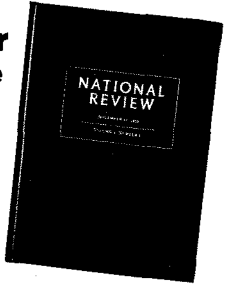
The National Review "Right" Writer
$14.95

This full-bodied fountain pen, in high gloss black and gold tone, has the smooth-flowing writing and handling of chic German pens. The "right" way to write that personal note or to sign that important document.


WindFall
William F. Buckley, Jr.

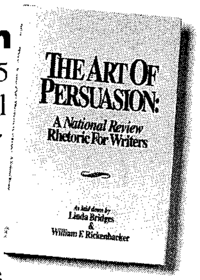
WindFall
$25.00

The critics are raving about Bill Buckley's deeply reflective account of his challenging 1990 Atlantic voyage, more a book about life than about sailing. Personally autographed by WFB.


NATIONAL REVIEW

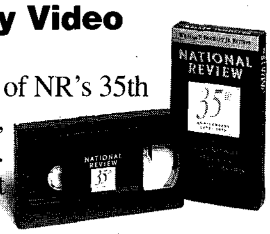
National Review Premier Issue, Commemorative Edition
$49.95

The limited-edition reprise of *NR*'s 1955 premier issue makes a very special keepsake. Hand-bound in leather and personally autographed by Bill Buckley.


THE ART OF PERSUASION
A National Review Rhetoric For Writers

The Art of Persuasion
$19.95

NR's own Linda Bridges and Bill Rickenbacker have written *the* guide for writing with clarity and style. The sure cure for dull prose.


NATIONAL REVIEW
35th

National Review's 35th Anniversary Video
$29.95

Highlights from the gala celebration of NR's 35th birthday fete, featuring Tom Selleck, Tom Wolfe, George Will and others. Bill Buckley's moving retirement announcement is a must-see.

☐ **Yes!** Please send me the following "Right Gifts":

- ☐ Speaking In Public, $17.95 (plus $3.00 shipping & handling)
- ☐ WindFall, $25.00 (includes s/h)
- ☐ The National Review College Guide, $14.95 (plus $3.00 s/h)
- ☐ National Review Premier Issue, Commemorative Ed., $49.95 (plus $3.00 s/h)
- ☐ Will Mrs. Major Go To Hell?, $16.95 (plus $3.00 s/h)
- ☐ The Art of Persuasion, $19.95 (plus $3.00 s/h)
- ☐ The "Right" Writer, $14.95 (plus $3.00 s/h)
- ☐ National Review's 35th Anniversary Video, $29.95 (plus $3.00 s/h)

☐ Check enclosed for (include shipping & handling): ____________

NY residents please add 8.25% sales tax. Make checks payable to National Review.
Foreign orders add $4.00 per item for shipping.

☐ Bill my credit card: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Card Number ____________

Expiration Date ____________

Signature ____________

Send your order to:

National Review Gift Department
150 East 35th Street
New York, NY 10016

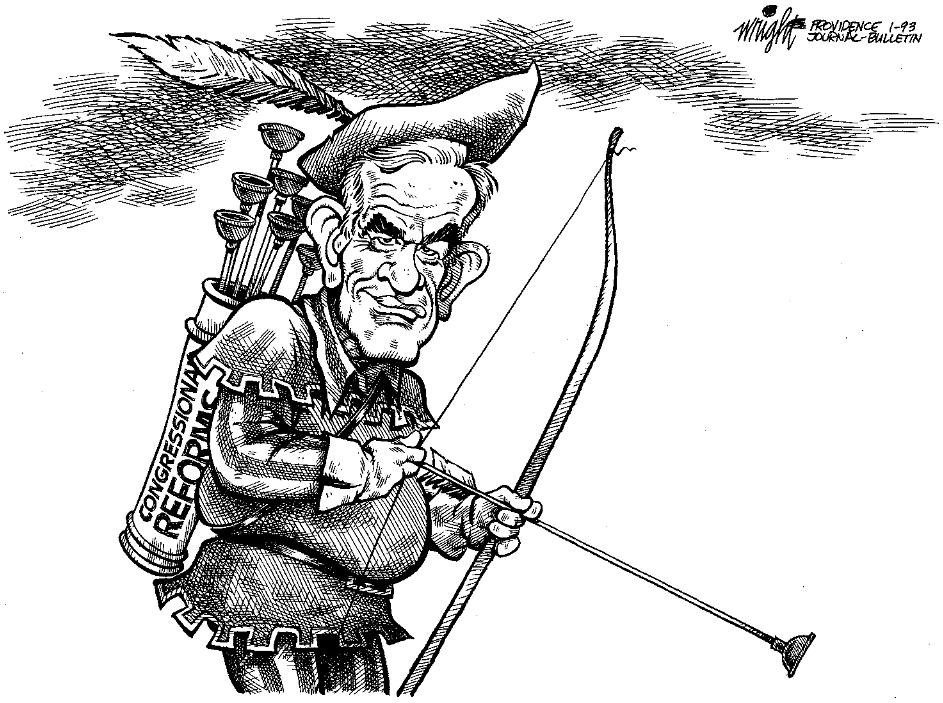
Name ____________

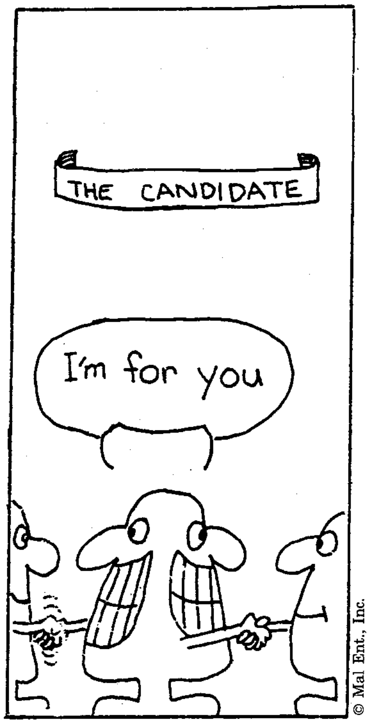
Address ____________

City ____________

State ____________ Zip ____________

help!!!!


Wright PROVIDENCE 1-93 JOURNAL-BULLETIN
CONGRESSIONAL REFORMS

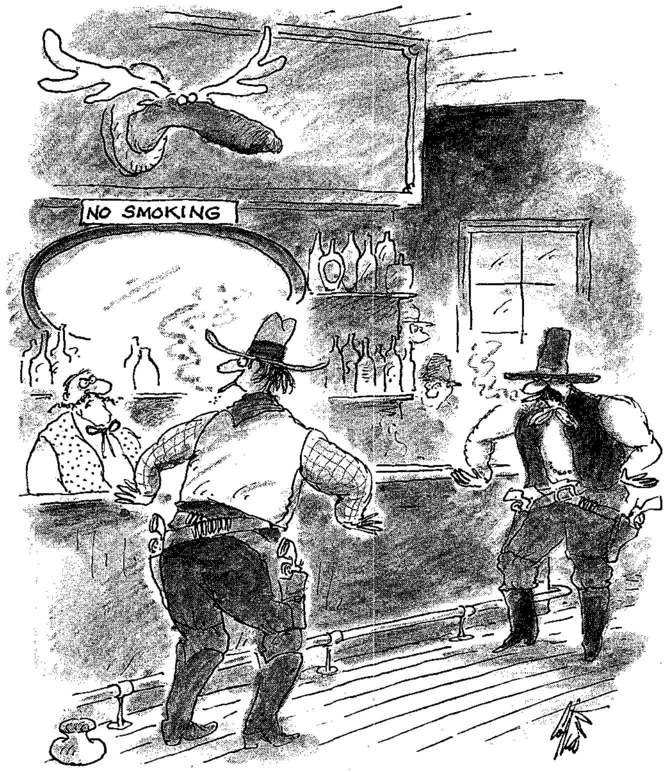

THE CANDIDATE
I'm for you

© Mal Ent., Inc.

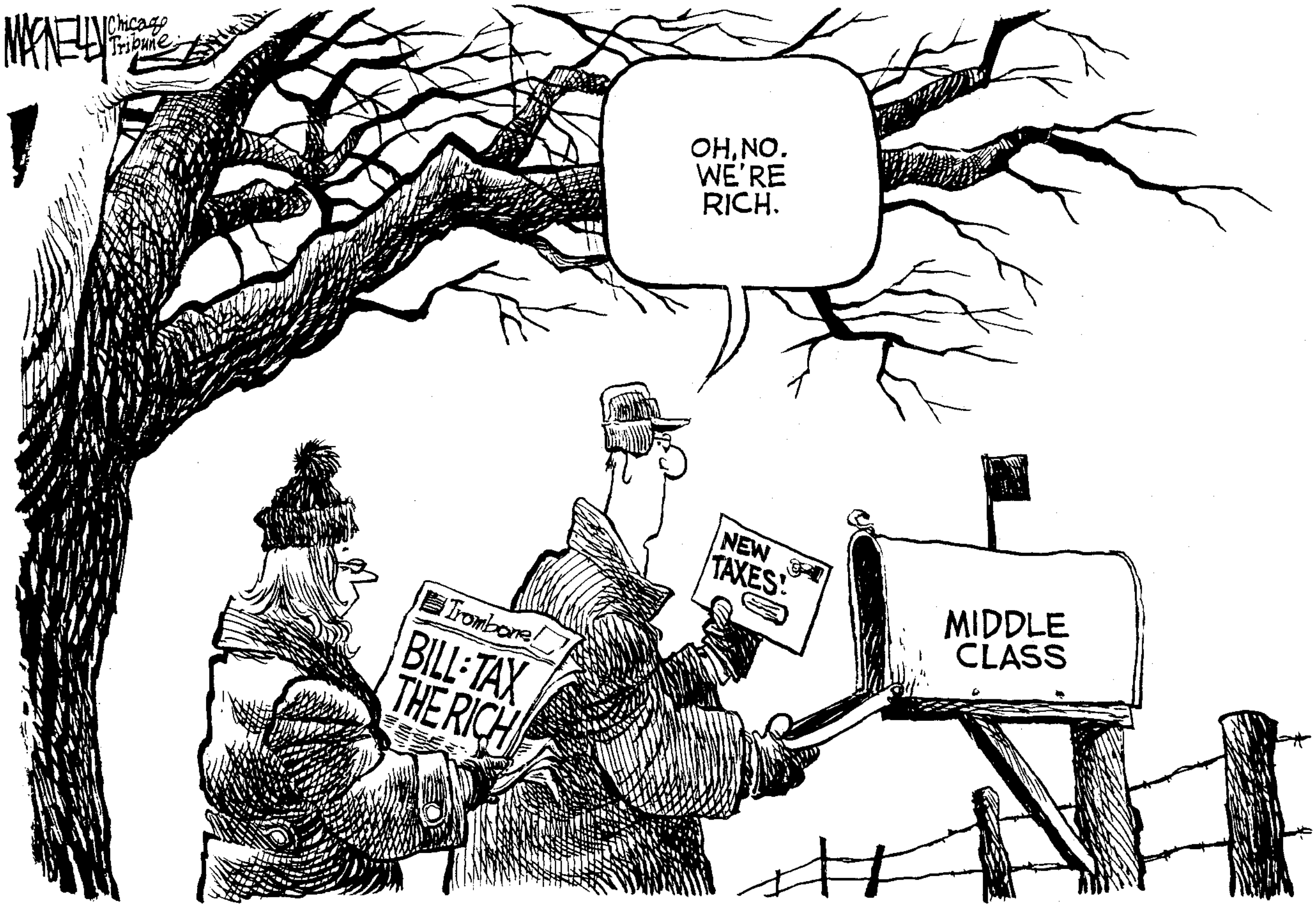
Glorobots

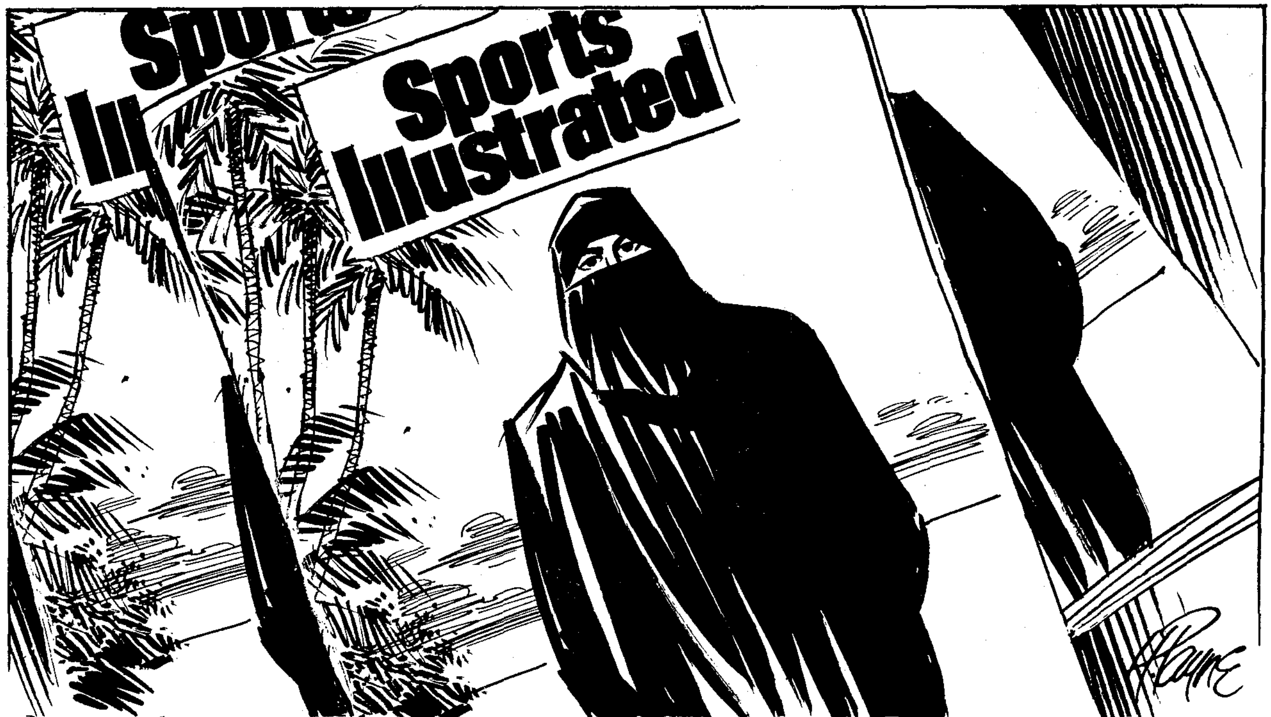
A robot assembled at Deering
To positive thinking was gearing,
  So he learned every way
  That there was to be gay,
And prided himself on Bronx cheering.

GLORIA A. MAXSON



"Not in here, you two! If you're going to smoke, take it outside!"

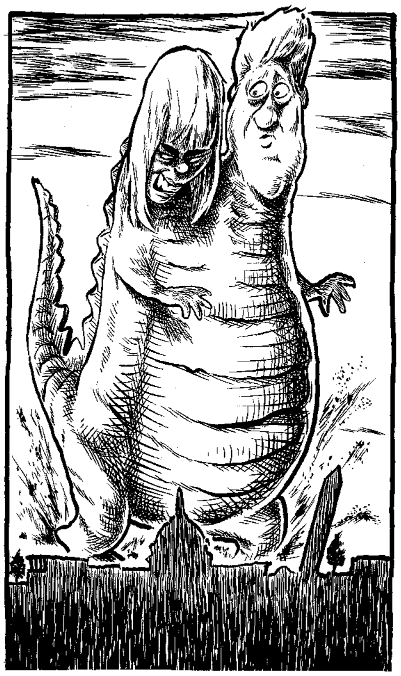

MACNELLY Chicago Tribune
OH, NO. WE'RE RICH.
NEW TAXES!
Trombone!
BILL: TAX THE RICH
MIDDLE CLASS


Sports Illustrated
Sports Illustrated
Payne

©1993 SCRIPPS HOWARD.

—UNITED FEATURE SYND.

UNDER PRESSURE FROM FEMINIST GROUPS, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED REPLACES ITS "SWIMSUIT" ISSUE WITH THE "WOMEN OF RIYADH" ISSUE. SALES PLUMMET.



The Clinton Economic Plan

TEN STEPS BACKWARD

Bill Clinton has reached into his hat—*et voilà!* A deficit-reduction plan that will increase the deficit, an economic-stimulus plan that will kill the recovery—and an industrial policy to perpetuate the mess.

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

PRESIDENT Clinton has a plan, but it is not a plan to reduce the national debt or to stimulate the economy. The plan is to spread dependency on government into the corporate sector with "industrial policy" and deeper into the middle class by turning both medicine and retirement into welfare systems.

The bond market's endorsement of Clinton's plan is a sure sign that the plan is recessionary. Renewed recession before there is a complete recovery would stir fears and make it easier to spread dependency. And once industrial policy is used to save jobs with subsidies, trade protection will follow. If Clintonomics is seriously pursued, it will lead to the break-up of the free-trade system.

Many business leaders and some Republicans apparently believe that deficit reduction is worth any price. It is best, then, first to clear our heads of any illusion of deficit reduction. If we take the budget plan at face value and assume it will work as advertised, Clinton is headed for a red-ink record. The plan adds $916 billion to the national debt over the next four years. That's $183 billion more than Reagan's cumulative first-term deficit and $238 billion more than his second-term deficit. Reagan is the fellow who cut our tax rates by 25 per cent and built up our defenses. Clinton is the two-headed monster that is raising our taxes, cutting our defenses, and still adding the equivalent of five and a half years of Reagan deficits to the economy in only four years.

Whose Belt to Tighten?

WHAT IT comes down to is that Bill Clinton is asking taxpayers to tighten their belts so that he and Hillary can enjoy a moral high doing good with our money in the public sector. Before taxpayers give the new President his chance, they might want to consider where there's more room for tightening: in the federal budget, or in theirs.

Most people have a pretty good idea of the narrow dimensions of their own budget but little comprehension of the vastness of the federal budget. One and a half trillion dollars is a huge sum. It is equal to the combined gross national product of Canada and Latin America. It is larger than the British or the Italian economy, themselves the fifth and sixth largest industrial economies. It is about the size of the German or the French economy—the third and fourth largest economies. It is two and a half times the total output of the two billion people who live in China and India.

Citizens against Government Waste says it has documented $167 billion in waste, fraud, and mismanagement in the annual federal budget. The General Accounting Office admits the government is wasteful, but says its accounting system is so slipshod that it is impossible to know by how much. After Stockman, Darman, and now Panetta, Citizens against Government Waste surely has more credibility than the OMB. But whatever we think of the estimate, $167 billion is as large as the total GNP of black Africa and about twice the national income of Argentina.

Even if we set aside the room for maneuver offered by waste and declining defense expenditures, a budget that, if it were a country, would be the world's fourth largest economy has a lot of room for adjustments. Much smaller economies undergo constant shifts in investment flows, employment patterns, and income. During recessions, the private sector gets by on less real income than in the previous year. To maintain, as Washington does, that government can only get by on more is totally incredible.

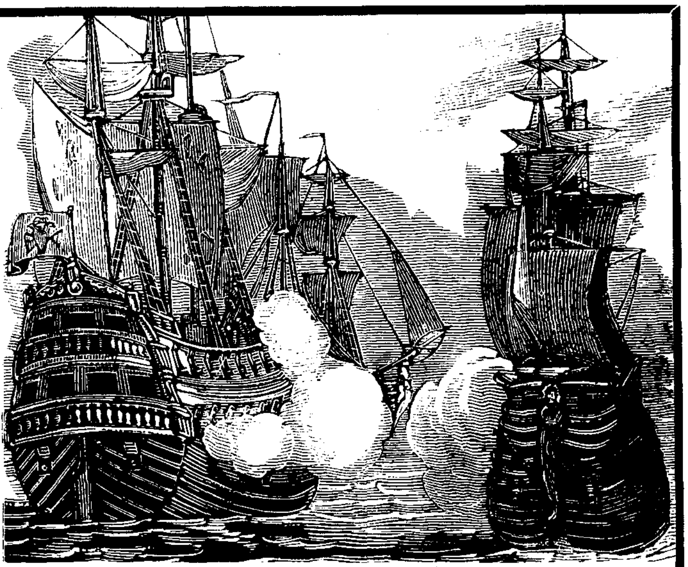
In contrast, how much room is there in the average taxpayer's budget to accommodate the new tax on energy? He is going to be taxed on the energy used to heat, cool, ventilate, and light his home, cook his meals, run his refrigerator, and drive his car. He will pay the same tax again in the form of higher

---

Mr. Roberts, assistant secretary of the Treasury for economic policy in 1981–82, holds the William E. Simon Chair in Political Economy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

ILLUSTRATION BY CARLOS TORRES

Reason & Religion: Enemies?



Among the well-educated the myth still circulates that religion is the preserve of the dimwitted, unlettered, and irrational, that the price of salvation is checking your mind at the Pearly Gates. Yet, from Harvard to Berkeley, and among inquisitive people generally, there's an undeniable renewal of interest in the questions traditional religion raises and seeks to answer. This fascination is largely the result of the failure of secular substitutes for religion (such as positivism, rationalism, hedonism, consumerism, technological utopianism, Freudianism, and Marxism) to give abidingly satisfying answers to the truly significant puzzles in life: evil, goodness, suffering, love, death, and the meaning of it all.

Contrary to stereotypes, this religious renaissance does not imply a retreat from working for peace, justice, and human dignity; nor does it signify a hostility to science, only an appreciation of the limits of science and technology.

We at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW are spearheading today's intellectual engagement with the sacred. Among other things, we scrutinize the religious dimensions of the great events and issues of the past and present, and probe the wisdom offered not only by the Bible and Church fathers, but also by such giants as St. Francis, Aquinas, Dante, Kierkegaard, Newman, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Bonhoeffer, Barth, Niebuhr, Gandhi, Buber, Auden, Eliot, Silone, Maritain, Merton, Schumacher, Thomas More, Dorothy Day, C.S. Lewis, Martin Luther King, Flannery O'Connor, Mother Teresa, and Archbishops Romero and Tutu.

An ecumenical monthly edited by lay Catholics, we've been characterized by George Will as "splendid," by the University of Chicago's Martin E. Marty as "lively," by the *Los Angeles Times* as "influential," by *Newsweek* as "thoughtful and often cheeky," by *Utne Reader* as "surprisingly original," by *Library Journal* as "brilliant," and by Christopher Derrick, England's foremost Catholic apologist, as "by far the best Catholic magazine in the English-speaking world."

We publish Protestants, Catholics, Anglicans, Eastern Orthodox, Jews, and an occasional nonbeliever. Writers who've appeared in our pages include such diversely penetrating intellects as Robert Bellah, Christopher Lasch, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Daniel Bell, Robert Coles, Irving Howe, Walker Percy, Norman Lear, John Lukacs, J.M. Cameron, Henri Nouwen, Avery Dulles, Gordon Zahn, Will Campbell, Stanley Hauerwas, Richard Mouw, and Sheldon Vanauken. We bat around a wide variety of issues and defy easy ideological pigeonholing. We'll keep you on your toes!

Whether or not you're Catholic, if you yearn for a sane, intelligent, and nonglitzy exploration of the religious dimensions of our lives and our world, we invite you to get to know us.

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue)

SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS

☐ One-year subscription. . . . . .$14 (regularly $19)

☐ One-year student, unemployed, or retired person's subscription . . . .$12 (regularly $16)

☐ Two-year subscription . . . . .$23 (regularly $35)

☐ One-year Canadian or foreign subscription . . . . US$17 (regularly $22) Payment must be drawn in US Dollars

☐ Sample copy. $3.50

Send coupon or letter. Make check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Mail to:

NEW OXFORD REVIEW
Room 593
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley, CA 94706

NAME (Please print or type)

STREET ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP CODE

PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER

prices for the products he buys. Clinton's estimate that the bill will come to only $17 a month for the average middle-class household has no basis in any fact.

In addition to the energy tax, a retiree's income will have to absorb Clinton's tax on 85 per cent of Social Security benefits. Do retirees with incomes above $25,000 if single, or $32,000 if married, have the extra $50 to $100 a month for the tax man? This proposal completes the transformation of Social Security into a means-tested welfare program by punishing the prudent who saved a nest egg. Moreover, the income thresholds are not indexed, and as time passes everyone will find his benefits taxed—which is the government's way of reneging on its Social Security commitments.

The Clintons believe that all unmet needs are in the public sector. The upper-middle-class kid who requires braces has less claim to his parents' income than does the unwed mother or the medically uninsured. If we apply this kind of logic in a thorough-going manner, the kid should give up his room to a homeless person and share a bed with his parents.

Just as Clinton's plan buys no deficit reduction (his deficit is projected by his own plan to average $62 billion a year more than Reagan's), it provides no economic stimulus. Indeed, the last economist who could have supported Clinton's economic policy died half a century ago. He was immortalized in Keynes's caricature of belt-tightening as the solution to public debt. When the taxes go up, the spending stream shrinks, and as consumption falls, so do employment and national income. The sacrifice is for naught. Such is the Keynesian "paradox of thrift."

"erudition, acumen, and reasoning skill" —*Thought*, Fordham University

"important book" —Prof. Hector-Neri Castañeda, Editor, *Nous*

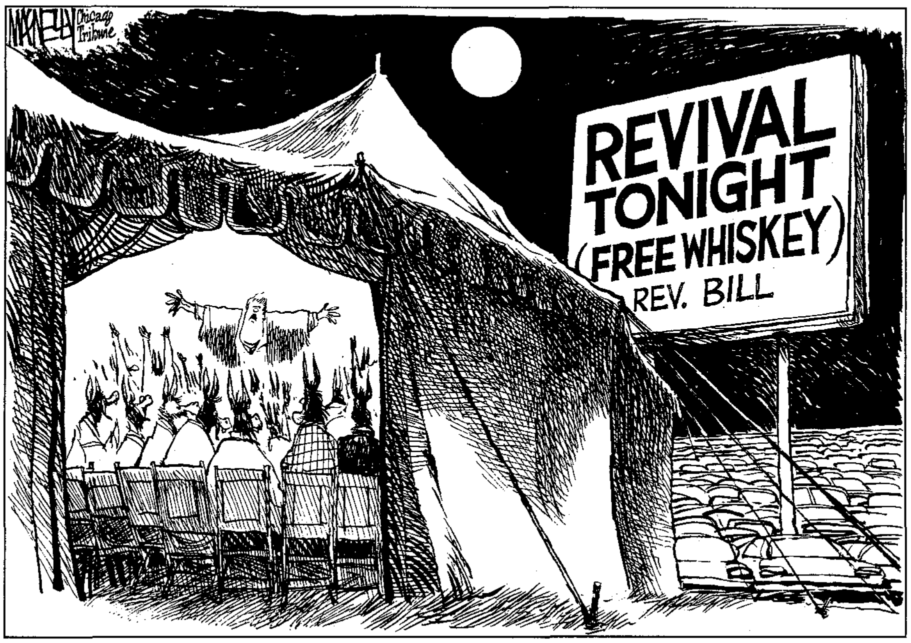
"wonderful" "I am fascinated" —Prof. H. Odera Oruka, Chairman, The Philosophical Association of Kenya

"a scholarly work" —*Dharma Quarterly*, Malaysia

ON PROOF FOR THE EXISTENCE OF GOD, AND OTHER REFLECTIVE INQUIRIES

BY PAUL VJECSNER

264 pages,
85 diagrams, index
Cloth, $22 postpaid
Send order for
'Reflective Inquiries' to
PENDEN,
PO Box 464,
New York NY 10101



Clinton claims that his higher taxes will prod investment by holding down consumption. But why would businesses invest more if their customers are buying less? Since 1948 Paul A. Samuelson's textbook has taught that consumption and investment go hand in hand rather than being competitive. As Alice Rivlin used to tell Congress from her perch in the Congressional Budget Office, "The reason businesses invest is that people buy."

A supply-side economist can make no more sense out of Clinton's policy than a demand-side one. Killing incentives, punishing the successful, and raising the costs of production can do nothing but harm economic activity. Clinton's stimulus package of public-works spending is dwarfed by the magnitude of the tax hike.

Once We're Down and Out

CLINTON'S PLAN is designed to get the economy on the ropes. With people screaming over layoffs in energy-intensive industries, in will rush Industrial Policy, a new Democratic hero who will save jobs and shareholders' equity and prevent the deindustrialization of America. Hooking the corporate sector on federal welfare will fossilize U.S. business, requiring protection from foreign competitors. The combination of subsidies and protectionism will further reduce our living standards, leading to still more government programs.

Restoring the primacy of government is what Clintonomics is all about, and punitive taxes on the successful are a necessary psychological component. People who dare to gain independence from government are going to be made to pay. As the costs go up, fewer will achieve it.

The Clintonite claim that Republicans starved the state in order to fatten the rich is belied by the 134 per cent increase in the federal budget between 1980 and 1992. The raw ideological nerve that Reagan touched is philosophical. Clinton stated the liberals' complaint in his Oval Office pitch for private-sector sacrifice: "For 12 years we followed a very different philosophy. It declared that government is the problem."

Government is all that liberals have to believe in. No amount of public-sector failure will ever cause liberals to subordinate the growth of government to the growth of the economy. Throughout the twentieth century, liberal policies have caused government to grow much faster than taxpayers' incomes. In 1900, government at all levels took 8.9 per cent of GNP, leaving the private sector with 91.1 per cent. By 1990, government claimed 36.8 per cent of GNP, leaving the private sector with only 63.2 per cent. It will get worse under Clinton.

The tax hikes on income and energy are just a first step. Bill Clinton has plans to tax our medical benefits and pensions. Hillary Clinton's biggest goal in life is to force the private sector to finance health care for the 37 million uninsured. Initially the idea was to require individuals to report their employer-provided medical benefits as personal income and pay taxes on them. Then the idea was to deny the tax deductibility to the employers—but even the Clinton Administration has grasped enough supply-side economics to realize that this approach would simply result in a larger number of uninsured as employers terminated plans. Currently the idea is to require all employers to provide medical insurance and to pay a tax on the value of the benefits so as to cover medical care for the jobless. This approach, together with the other expensive workplace regulations already on the books, seems destined either to kill employment in the U.S. or to drive down money wages.

The Clintonites claim, dishonestly, that their plans to control medical costs are going to save so much money for private businesses that it is only fair to recapture some of the savings from the private sector. People who make claims like this will say and do anything.

And that's just what the Clintonites are saying and doing. The President has nominated a vociferous advocate of pension taxation, Alicia Munnell, as assistant Treasury secretary for economic policy. She believes, fervently, that the "special tax treatment" pension contributions have received (i.e., the fact that we are not taxed on the money until it is paid to us as retirement income) is undeserved. To correct this "problem," she wants both the annual contributions to the pension funds and the earnings of the funds to be taxed as current income. To make up for failing to tax pension contributions as current income in the past, she advocates that the government confiscate 15 per cent of all existing pension-fund accumulations. And you thought you could look forward to a comfortable retirement.

Previously, governments have not thought it fair or practical to tax people on unrealized or future income. Without the income in hand, the taxpayer has no money with which to pay the tax. The idea of a 25-year-old, for example, paying current income taxes on income that will not be available to him for forty years—and perhaps never, as he may die before retirement or the fund may lose its investments in the Clinton Crash—won't strike most voters as fair. After counting the votes they would lose, the Clintonites will probably settle for making the pension funds pay the tax out of the employer and employee contributions and accumulated earnings. That makes the tax invisible, and when the retiree discovers he has a smaller nest egg than he expected, it can be blamed on the failure of capitalism to provide adequate retirement income. Just as it doesn't provide adequate health care, a living wage, or opportunities for minorities.

Clinton's policies are atavistic, a throwback to a socialist past that the rest of the world has repudiated. Clintonomics is already making the U.S. a reactionary force in the world economy by casting doubt on our trade relations with Europe, Japan, and Mexico. Socialists like nothing better than restricted opportunities. The fewer the entrepreneurs and the slower the economic growth, the greater the demand for redistribution. Under President Clinton, America seems destined to relive the lessons of the twentieth century. □

You heard it here. First.

In 1991, when George Bush was the toast of the Western World, *The Capitalist's Companion* was explaining why he would have reelection troubles. When the health care stocks were hitting all-time highs in January, the *Companion* was explaining why the stocks would soon fall. And this spring, when Wall Street expected the technology stocks to rise forever, we were noting which stocks were vulnerable, and why.

We were right on all counts, even though at the time the consensus said that we were nuts.

We weren't nuts. We were thoughtfully ahead of the pack, and we made our readers money in the process.

That's our job. We give you political and financial insights that you won't get from your broker, or from the financial weeklies. We help keep you ahead of the crowd.

Give us a try. Dial the toll-free number (or clip the coupon) for a cancel-anytime trial subscription. If you do, you'll be getting unconventional political and investment thinking. And you'll be getting at the time when it will do you the most good: *early.*

1-800-966-6567

24 hours a day; 7 days a week

( ) I'd like a 5-issue trial for $19. NR12
( ) I'd like a year (17 issues) for $120.
( ) Payment enclosed. ( ) Bill me.

Name ______
Company ______
Address ______
City ______ State ____ Zip ____

The Capitalist's Companion
JOURNAL OF POLITICS AND THE FINANCIAL MARKETS
175 Fifth Avenue Suite 2503 New York, N.Y. 10010

The Hounding of a Samaritan

HONOR AMONG ENVIRONMENTALISTS

John Zenner thought you could clean up pollution while saving jobs. Wisconsin saw it differently.

PETER SAMUEL

JOHN ZENNER, 55, of East Troy, Wisconsin, is a big man of sunny disposition with an easy, bubbling laugh. He has needed his good humor much these past seven years. Though he was recently vindicated by the State Supreme Court, which has ordered the state's charges against him quashed, he has been ruined financially and forced to sell everything—his business, his investments, his house, even his car. His crime? He tried to help clean up the pollution left behind when a local electroplating firm went broke.

Son of the inventor of tickertape machines and telex printers, Zenner was steeped in engineering and became successful in business in Chicago. In the early 1980s he came home to the Milwaukee area intending to retire from engineering and do some property development. He loves the lakes and rugged little hills of the glacier-scoured landscape west of Lake Michigan, and he was a leading figure on a local panel to extend the Kettle Moraine state park, involving preservation of 4,415 acres of forests, lake, and wetland. A cordial letter to Zenner from the district director of the state Department of Natural Resources (DNR) calls the park's master plan "the fruit of your labors." Zenner says: "These people were my friends."

This relationship with environmental officials was a major factor in his agreeing to act as bankruptcy trustee for the Better-Brite company. He took on the job, he says, "because it was the right thing to do, like the way you serve on the zoning board, or the county committee on the local wildlife reserve. It was a civic thing."

An Environmental Horror

GREEN BAY, Wisconsin, has been called the tissue capital of America. On the banks of the Fox River, six huge paper mills turn out a great variety of household paper items and packaging papers. Each has hundreds of mill rollers, typically twenty feet long and a foot in diameter, which need periodic replating, providing steady work for electroplating shops like Better-Brite. Nonetheless, the company went into a decline in the 1980s and was forced to file for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection in September 1985.

Inspectors found that Better-Brite's shops were an environmental horror. David Pflug, a DNR enforcement officer, recalls his first visit to the company's zinc-plating shop in De Pere, a suburb of Green Bay. It was dimly lit and damp. Yellow icicles hung from the beams, the result of uncontrolled fumes and poor ventilation. Washes and sludges containing zinc solutions and cyanide were going untreated into the De Pere city sewer system. Two blocks away, Better-Brite's chrome-plating-operation had given rise to complaints from neighbors that yellow gunk (chromic acid) was leaking into their properties. Environmental enforcement officials had filed at least one complaint against Better-Brite before Zenner took over as bankruptcy trustee but had never pressed charges or forced remedial action.

At the two bankruptcy-court sessions several DNR officials, including Pflug, went along with Zenner's Chapter 11 plan. This involved making an intensive marketing effort to bring in new work so as to generate money for a clean-up; closing two chrome-plating operations and consolidating them at a modern leased facility at Kaukauna, 15 miles away; and installing a waste-water treatment system at the De Pere zinc shop. At the hearing Pflug told the court that the Kaukauna plant was in compliance with environmental requirements. Says Zenner: "If the DNR had hinted at any problems at Kaukauna that would have ended the whole thing then and there. I wouldn't have touched it. The 49 men would have been laid off and it would have been Chapter 7. The government would have had to assume responsibility for the clean-up."

At first, things went according to Zenner's plan. Within two months, he had quadrupled revenues (to $80,000 monthly), hired an extra 15 workers, and achieved a healthy monthly surplus of $40,000, which he began applying to the clean-up. At the old zinc shop Zenner got waste discharges into the city sewer down from 30,000 gallons a day to 600 gallons and halved the concentrations of metals—a hundredfold reduction in contamination. The discharges still exceeded clean-water limits, however, and so he started design and construction of a waste-water treatment system. He made an additional $60,000 worth of improvements—rebuilding plating tanks and putting in new plumbing and a new sewer line.

Barely ten weeks after he had taken over, official harassment began.

The DNR wrote Zenner that the Kaukauna operation was not in conformity with requirements—contrary to what Pflug and other officials had said in bankruptcy court. The DNR had wrongly, it now said, given the facility an exemption from licensing as a hazardous-waste-generating establishment. The facility would have to close down until it had obtained the necessary license, which Pflug said would take two to three years.

When I started investigating this case, I asked Pflug why the department had flip-flopped on the Kaukauna licensing. He answered blandly that it was a mistake based on "what was in the file." Zenner, however, thinks he was deliberately trapped into taking responsibility, tar-

Mr. Samuel is an NR *contributing editor.*

geted as a "deep pocket." He now has a copy of a 1984 DNR letter to the then owner saying the Kaukauna facility was in need of a hazardous-waste license, suggesting to Zenner that state officials perjured themselves in the bankruptcy court.

In any event the DNR's flip-flop torpedoed the operations that were generating two-thirds of the company's revenues and all of its profits. Zenner had to close chrome-plating operations completely and lay off 40 of the company's 65 employees. He then focused his efforts on the zinc shop in De Pere. In five months he had built that business up substantially while supervising the design and installation of a $50,000 treatment plant for sludge discharges. Zenner had the treatment system completed and was starting to run tests on it in May 1986 when the DNR asked a local court to order that Better-Brite cease all waste-water discharges. The court agreed but allowed the company to continue testing the treatment system.

Then Zenner was told by DNR officials that the treatment plant could not be operated even for tests because he had not gotten approval of the design beforehand. He submitted the plans immediately, but they were returned. The system would have to be dismantled and removed. Only then would officials consider the application for a permit.

This was a bombshell. "Dave Pflug and other DNR officials were at the plant several times a week for 20 weeks," says Zenner, "pushing us to get on with the installation of the treatment system. They said to me, 'Let's get on with it, we'll worry about the paperwork later.' "

Pflug acknowledges that he and other officials discussed with Zenner his proceeding to install the treatment system without formal filing of plans. He says that everything would have been all right if Zenner's treatment system had worked as promised, but a test showed that the discharge failed requirements.

Zenner says the system could have met the effluent standards: "It was standard technology that works in thousands of similar plating shops around the country. Getting it into conformity with effluent standards was a matter of working up the system, but we were never given the opportunity."

Pflug says Zenner's efforts were "too little, too late."

With the treatment system knocked out by government order, Better-Brite's zinc-plating work volume was reduced by almost 90 per cent. A $35,000/month profit became a $2,500/month loss. All but three employees were laid off.

Hurry Up, Please

JUST AS state officials were denying Zenner the means to finance the clean-up, they were intensifying demands to speed it up.

Drums of hazardous waste had accumulated, and there were other drums of waste from pre–Chapter 11 operations. All the spent materials generated in electroplating are hazardous, but as long as they are in actual use in manufacturing, they are free of regulation. The act of storing waste materials triggers a regulatory blizzard of permits, handling requirements, and record keeping. If more than 220 pounds are stored for more than 90 days, a hazardous-waste storage license is required. But the law is fuzzy about when the clock starts on storage. Is it when you put the first drop in the barrel, or when you have finished filling it and it is sealed up ready for disposal? Zenner argued that, as long as the waste was being kept in open barrels for concentrating by evaporation, it was not being stored, but the state disagreed.

"A hundred billion years? What did you do?"

In early 1986 Robert M. Hunter, an aggressive young attorney, had taken charge of environmental enforcement at the Wisconsin Department of Justice. He wanted to try out the radical theory that a bankruptcy trustee may be held personally liable for contamination in his charge. At various meetings, with DNR officials present, Hunter threatened Zenner with legal action and told him he was personally liable. The state later filed charges against Zenner in his role as trustee, an action that set off shock waves in the nation's bankruptcy system.

On August 27, 1986, Zenner went to the bankruptcy court to report that Better-Brite was out of money and to recommend that the company be liquidated. He asked to be relieved of the trusteeship. But, with no possibility that the problem would be solved before winter, there was the vexing question of who would pay to keep the buildings warm enough to prevent the drums of waste from freezing and bursting. State officials threatened to hold Zenner personally liable, so he proposed to buy the business from the bankruptcy estate, with the bill of sale making it clear that he was assuming ownership of the plant and equipment but not of the hazardous wastes. This arrangement was approved by the bankruptcy judge, but Hunter calls it a "sham."

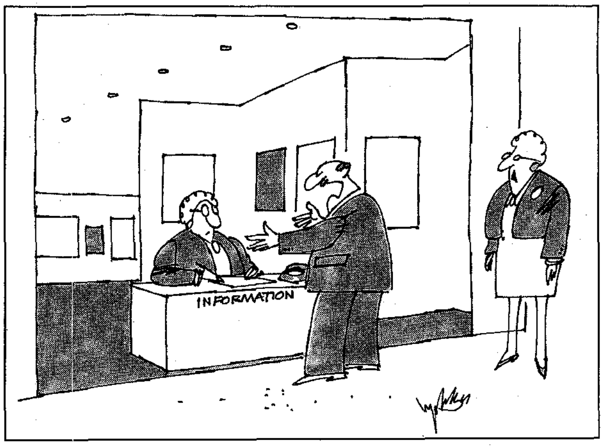
For another two years Zenner ran the zinc shop at a monthly loss of $2,500 while constantly trying to get a permit to run the waste-water treatment system. All this time he was putting his own money into maintaining the building and the hazardous wastes. In August 1988 the state sued Zenner for storing hazardous waste without a permit during 1985 and 1986. In a summary judgment, a circuit-court judge ordered fines and forfeitures against Zenner personally for $375,940. He began appeals.

The end of Better-Brite came the next month, on October 12, 1989, when the government launched a spectacular raid on the zinc shop. Marshals smashed the doors open and burst in to seize records and take samples from the hazardous-waste drums. A backhoe dug up the sewer line and samples were taken; a DNR official was quoted as saying the department was sure that Zenner had been putting hazardous wastes down the toilet.

It was a shameless exploitation of the media. Both DNR and EPA officials already had keys to the premise—from Zenner—so the door breaking was staged for the cameras. Indeed, state officials had repeatedly visited and reviewed the company's records and knew precisely what hazardous wastes were stored, so there was no need for a raid at all. The sample gotten out of the sewer proved to be human feces. Not a single charge resulted from the raid, but the publicity killed not only the zinc-shop business, but unconnected business activities of Zenner's. Creditors called in their financing, and clients shied away from him.

The circuit-court verdict against Zenner was overturned February 5, 1991, by a state court of appeals. The state then appealed to the State Supreme Court, where Zenner was vindicated again. On May 19, 1992, the court found that Zenner had "worked diligently, with limited resources, to remedy the environmental problems of Better-Brite." The court cited the bankruptcy judge's opinion that "Zenner did his best during Chapter 11 proceedings" to bring the zinc shop into compliance with DNR requirements, and ordered that the verdict against Zenner be dismissed.

Ten months have now gone by and this clear order to dismiss the case has been ignored by the state Department of Justice, which may well be in contempt of the State Supreme Court. State's Attorney Hunter told us: "The state does not believe that the Supreme Court ruling ends the case. . . . The facts are that Mr. Zenner set up a waste-water facility that generated numerous barrels of waste, some 30 to 60 barrels. It is not important who was the actual legal owner of those. It is an offense to store hazardous waste for more than 90 days without a permit and Mr. Zenner did that."



"Sir, that painting is trompe-l'oeil. *She can't help you."*

That is an extraordinary assertion coming after a court of appeals and the State Supreme Court have both rejected the state's case—especially considering that it was the state that blocked Zenner's every effort to dispose of the hazardous wastes.

No state official I spoke to charged any ill will, malice, improper profit, or dishonesty on Zenner's part. None even suggested his actions caused any damage. None had any suggestion of what he should have done differently.

Since Zenner was not permitted to pay for cleaning up the contamination out of funds generated by an ongoing business, the taxpayer was left to foot the bill—about a million dollars. Even today, at the chrome shop, contaminated soil is stored in a hundred tarpaulin-covered dumpsters. At the site of the zinc shop, there's an open pit about 15 feet deep, in the bottom of which is a bright yellow liquid they say is chromic acid. If state officials had let him do the job, Zenner says, it would have been cleaned up five years ago. He notes somewhat bitterly that the EPA's clean-up contractors from Indiana are even now quartered at the most expensive hotel in town, while he has lost his home. He has had legal fees of $120,000; he was unable to earn any significant income for six years; he spent some $60,000 of his own money protecting the wastes from freeze damage; and he has been thoroughly slandered through the whole process.

Zenner joins the growing list of victims of the perverse machinery of environmentalist zealotry. Thanks to Wisconsin's Department of Natural Resources and Department of Justice, 65 people have been thrown out of work, a man who was trying to be a good citizen has been brought to the edge of bankruptcy, the taxpayers have to foot a large and growing bill—and Wisconsin's waters are no cleaner than if the DNR and the State's Attorney had stayed at home. ☐

How to Lose Arguments — and Elections

LEAVING FAMILIES OUT

Republicans won't win debates on family matters until they stop seeing children in terms of GDP.

GARY L. BAUER

ONLY days after outgoing Republican National Chairman Rich Bond gave an ugly and divisive speech blasting forces in the the party that he considers ugly and divisive, Republicans found themselves on the wrong side of a popular family-leave bill that steamrolled its way through Congress. To understand why the Republican Party was imprinted in hot asphalt on family leave is to understand at least part of the reason why it lost the Presidency in 1992. And it ain't because social conservatives wield too much influence in GOP circles.

Parental-leave legislation first appeared in Congress during the mid 1980s. The proposal, which required employers to provide 12 weeks of unpaid leave to workers with new babies or ill family members, was introduced by a trio of liberal Democrats (Connecticut Senator Christopher Dodd, Missouri Representative William Clay, and Colorado Representative Patricia Schroeder). Not surprisingly, business opposition quickly mobilized. Arguments against government mandates on businesses were aired, often with great effect.

But while the business community's reaction served to reduce the scope of the legislation, it failed to reverse the slowly building momentum for some sort of family-leave bill. The reason was simple: family leave has symbolic power. As framed by its sponsors (and the all-too-cooperative media), the legislation pitted the interests of stingy employers against the interests of family-oriented workers. It pitted Ebenezer Scrooge against Bob Cratchit.

Opponents responded by marshalling evidence to show that most employers bear no strong resemblance to Ebenezer Scrooge and trying to reframe the battle as pitting job-creating employers against meddlesome government regulators.

This strategy, however, failed to keep the family-leave juggernaut from rolling through Congress—in large part because it failed to challenge the Left's claim to represent modern-day Bob Cratchits. Americans like business more than they like government, but they like family more than they like business. And they like family more than they hate government. In other words, it is not enough to be pro-business and anti-government: the key to winning issues that fall in the family–business–government nexus is to be pro-family.

After years of openly attacking the family, the Left has learned this lesson well. Following the lead of welfare-state radicals like Marian Wright Edelman of the Children's Defense Fund, liberals increasingly are advancing a Big Government agenda under the guise of "helping families" and "investing in children."

When challenged, the liberals' family agenda has been exposed as an attempt to replace parental involvement and responsibility with government programs and/or mandates on employers. For example, conservatives won the debate over federal child-care legislation several years ago by arguing that it would be better to give overtaxed families per-child credits, and let them take care of their own child-rearing responsibilities, than to tax them with one hand and offer them a narrow menu of subsidized day-care programs with the other.

Sadly, the GOP made no similar effort to seize the high ground in the family-leave debate. They played an inside-the-Beltway legislative game of Hold That Line, unaware or unconcerned that they were losing the public-relations battle outside the Beltway. Not only did this apparent indifference to family-oriented workers doom their chances for success on this issue, but it also undercut the GOP's ill-defined "family values" message and reinforced the perception that the Bush Administration was out of touch with ordinary people.

Opportunities to seize the high ground abounded. In letters and memos and meetings and articles and speeches, pro-family leaders urged opponents of the bill to:

—Point out that the bill's primary purpose was to strengthen a new mother's attachment not to her baby, but to her career. (Joseph Allen, one of the proposal's architects, had expressed concern that "substantially longer leaves or leaves not based on attachment to the labor force might actually discourage women from working.")

—Call attention to a University of Connecticut study showing that since most employers do not find it economically advantageous to hire replacements for leave-taking workers, the real burden of unpaid leave is shouldered by dumped-on co-workers whose family time is threatened by the increased workload.

—Champion alternative work-and-family reforms, such as changes in the tax treatment of home-office expenses to facilitate home-based work and creation of a "parental preference" policy, which would give priority in re-hiring to mothers who leave the labor force to rear children or care for ill family members.

—Vigorously push a dramatic expansion of the Young Child Tax Credit (a little-known tax provision which provides nearly $400 in tax relief to families with newborns).

To be sure, all of these ideas carried political risks, not the least of which was the increased possibility of a grand "compromise" with leave proponents. But the alternative—allowing liberals to masquerade as the defenders of America's families—merited taking such a risk, especially since this battle over unpaid leave was viewed by both sides as a warm-up for the real battle to come over mandated paid leave.

Indeed, we tried to convince Republican lawmakers that expanding the Young Child Tax Credit was critical to their long-term success, since it would erect a dam on the slippery slope from unpaid to paid leave by establishing the point that the way to make time with children more affordable is through tax relief, not government-mandated paid leave.

Needless to say, the GOP never injected pro-family tax relief into the family-leave debate when it controlled the White House (and thereby had the power to veto any leave bill). Nor did it seek to add an expansion of the Young Child Tax Credit to the certain-to-pass family-leave bill in the early days of the Clinton Administration—even though the bill was considered only days after Clinton had abandoned his pledge to cut middle-income taxes.

Naturally, we were frustrated (but not altogether surprised) by the GOP's silence. After all, the Bush campaign never made an issue of then-Senator Albert Gore's sponsorship of a 1991 bill to *repeal* the Young Child Tax Credit. Instead, it allowed the President to be pummeled mercilessly on the issue until he cried Uncle and coughed up a proposed tax break for *businesses* that provide short-term unpaid leave.

Learn from the Debacle

MY POINT in highlighting these actions (and inactions) is not to embarrass my friends in the GOP who, in hindsight, would no doubt agree that the family-leave debate was not the Republican Party's shining hour. My point instead

---

Mr. Bauer, former domestic-policy advisor to Ronald Reagan, is president of the Family Research Council.

is to warn them that they will continue to lose winnable debates unless they learn at least three lessons from the family-leave debacle:

1. *Do not shy away from using tax policy to make it easier for families to enjoy an improved quality of life.* Much of the reason why the Bush Administration repeatedly resisted our pleadings (and those of legislators like Frank Wolf) to champion pro-family tax relief was that every GOP economist in Washington could identify some other tax measure (most notably, a cut in capital-gains taxes) that would do a better job of promoting short-term economic growth. But in making economic growth the end-all and be-all of tax policy, the Bush Administration made the mistake of believing that improvements in family well-being come only via economic growth.

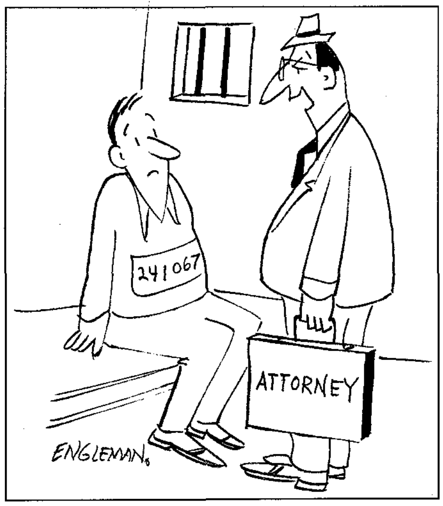
This is profoundly untrue. Easing the tax burden on citizens during the stage in life when they are raising children may not send the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) soaring, but if it makes it easier for tax-paying families to devote more of their time and attention to the pleasures, challenges, and responsibilities of childrearing, then family well-being is apt to improve.

And this, ultimately, will pay economic dividends. Indeed, strong families are like blue-chip stocks: at any given point, they may not offer the greatest return on investment, but *over the long haul*, they generate economic wealth (and non-economic happiness) better than strategies which sacrifice family well-being for short-run GDP growth.

2. *Rediscover the non-market home economy.* A related reason why many Republicans resisted our efforts to challenge the notion that 12 weeks of "bonding" is all an infant needs is that market day care is included in the GDP while non-market home care is not. Thus, despite reams of evidence that most mothers want and children need considerable interaction well beyond a newborn's 12th week, Republicans went along with the Left's promotion of maternal careerism.

Republicans would have been wiser to change the terms of the economic debate so as to focus attention on what Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation has called "vertical" productivity growth (rises in real per-hour output and wages) instead of "horizontal" economic growth (expansions in GDP stemming from the influx of new workers or increases in paid-work hours).

The Republican Party's failure to shift the focus of America's economic debate away from GDP contributed to far greater problems than the mere passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act. It fed a complacency among Republican leaders that "all's well on the home front" when in fact many families were making ends meet only by increasing hours of paid work (and reducing hours of time with their children). This, in turn, increased the potency of Bill Clinton's class-warfare message: many middle-class families heard Republican candidates boasting about 93 straight months of GDP growth, compared their pursuit of the American dream to that of their parents, and concluded that someone else (i.e., the "rich") must have enjoyed the lion's share of all that new wealth.



"We still haven't convinced the judge and jury, but we're winning your case in the media."

Lest I be misunderstood, I am not in any way suggesting that Reaganomics was a failure. Far from it. "Vertical" productivity did rise modestly during the 1980s—a significant accomplishment given the path Carternomics had us on (and that Clintonomics is set to return us to).

But I am suggesting that the Republican Party needs to think twice before it accepts the gospel preached by "Big Government Conservatives": that "growth" will solve all of our economic problems. Not only does this message fail to address the fact that the size and role of government are already too great, but mere horizontal growth can actually increase the demand for more government mandates and services (since responsibilities once handled in the non-market home economy are transferred to others).

3. *Articulate an economic vision that values family.* Ultimately, fine-tuning the Republican Party's economic focus will be of little point if Republican spokesmen address average Americans as if they were students in an economic-theory course. Even though Republicans usually win the intellectual debate on economic issues, they often lose the public-relations battle because they are perceived as representing either some arcane, abstract theory or some moneyed interest.

As noted earlier, this problem stems partly from the GOP's failure to see the legitimacy of using economic policy to achieve social goals. In addition, many Republicans are more comfortable with an economic vocabulary littered with boardroom-table talk than with one based on kitchen-table talk.

Last fall's congressional battle over a Democratic plan to raise the tariff on imported minivans provides a classic example. In the House, conservatives fought a valiant effort in the name of free trade. They got buried. In the Senate, Republicans (at our urging) argued that in changing the classification of minivans from passenger cars to cargo-hauling trucks, liberals were "treating kids like dirt." Needless to say, the Democrats' proposal crashed and burned (without any help at all from *Dateline NBC*).

Connecting with People

WHEN Rich Bond and his cadre of pollsters discovered last summer that the Bush campaign's greatest strength was something called "family values," they charged ahead with an ill-conceived campaign devoid of serious policy proposals. Not surprisingly, their "family values" incantation rang hollow. To many voters, "family values" seemed like a cynical election-year appendage to the GOP's real concerns.

If the Republican Party can rediscover pro-family tax relief, the non-market home economy, and a vocabulary that connects with real people, it will be better positioned to win economic and social policy battles in the future. If it cannot, then its "big tent" might as well fold. The show will go on without it. □

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

Dear Rusty:

Well, Bill and Hillary and I came up with a plan to fix the economy! Are you happy or what? I'm sure you don't get much timely news down there in the rain forest, but let me be very honest with you: it's a huge success. All across the country, people are excited about paying more in taxes.

But to be totally frank with you, I feel a little let down. You know, back in '88 when I was running for President, if you mentioned raising taxes you could kiss the election good-bye. Now, the people are actually happy to be paying more taxes. They can't seem to get enough. Boy, is Bill a lucky guy! When I ran, the country was still in its selfish phase. Okay, I know this is going to sound like sour grapes, but deep down, I know I could have raised taxes more than he can. Frankly, strictly between us, my level of commitment is higher.

Bill pretty much sequestered himself in the Oval Office during the days leading up to our speech. Hillary came and explained to me that Bill needed some "alone time," which I respected. No one got to see him, and I mean no one, except for Hillary, Mack McLarty, Colin Powell, Ron Brown, George Stephanopoulos, Lloyd Bentsen, Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, Leon Panetta, Bruce Babbitt, Donna Shalala, and Marian Wright Edelman. Oh, I suppose a few others might have slipped in too.

From the outside, it might look like I was being shut out. Tipper certainly read it that way. She kept after me to be more assertive. I tried to reason with her. I told her that I was going to be Vice President for four years, that my influence had to grow and develop over time, that as men grow close to each other, like Bill and I have, we need time to heal the wounds we each carry from our fathers before we can truly bond.

Tipper wouldn't hear a word of it. Remember that time I casually mentioned that maybe we should pull Al Jr. and the girls out of school and all go live by the Orinoco River in Brazil? Remember her reaction? Well, the days before the budget speech were close to that. She kept telling me to barge into the office, to make my presence known. We argued and argued.

One night I was working late in my office, all alone, on the Timber Summit (an idea that Hillary and I cooked up to bring attention to the timber problems in the Pacific Northwest. It was her idea, actually. "This ought to keep you busy," she said. And boy, has it ever!) and I was hunched over my desk, lost in thought, when two hands suddenly covered my eyes. "Guess who!" I heard. It was Tipper. She had come to make up. She told me she was sorry for pushing me. She wanted to have a romantic "picnic" in my office. She held up two big bags from McDonald's and a bucket of fried chicken. Normally I don't eat that kind of food, but the gesture was so sweet I didn't say anything. She also brought two pizzas, ribs and biscuits, and several meatball subs. The whole West Wing smelled like a junk-food restaurant. I said, "Is all this food for us?" and she said, "I just want you to know how much I love you." She's such a special lady.

I had just picked up a slice of pizza when Bill appeared at the door! He must have smelled the food all the way in the Oval Office. He looked tired and worn out. I guess he had been getting by without much sleep. We made some small talk, and the whole time he didn't take his eyes off the food. Tipper got that little smile she gets when she's embarrassed and said, "Well, I guess you two probably have a lot to talk about," and she left. So there I was, eating pizza and ribs with Bill at one in the morning, just the two of us, like we were still campaigning. We talked about the budget speech, the economic plan, health care, topsoil erosion—all the big issues. Just him and me.

I got home very late that night and I felt great. Tipper and I had made up; Bill and I had gotten even closer—and we were pretty close before. I crawled into bed, thanked Tipper for the picnic, and apologized for the interruption. "Don't worry," she said. "The only way to get face time with that man is when he's stuffing his." I was too tired to argue.

After the big speech, Bill and I flew all across the country selling our program of taxes, fees, and job programs. The response was overwhelming. People are really ready for big government again. As Bill and I walked across the tarmac to board Air Force One, Tipper called after me, ran up, gave me a big kiss, and slipped about a dozen Snickers bars into my pockets. I told her that I never eat candy, but all she said was "I just want to show you how much I love you." Everyone saw it, even Bill, and I got embarrassed. As we boarded the plane, Bill just couldn't take his eyes off my bulging pockets. Finally, I offered him a Snickers. As he ate it, he said, "Al, stick close today, okay? I'm going to need you next to me."

As we taxied down the runway, I looked out the window to see Tipper waving good-bye, smiling her wide, beautiful smile.

Hope all is well with you, Rusty. Save a date in August for the Timber Summit!

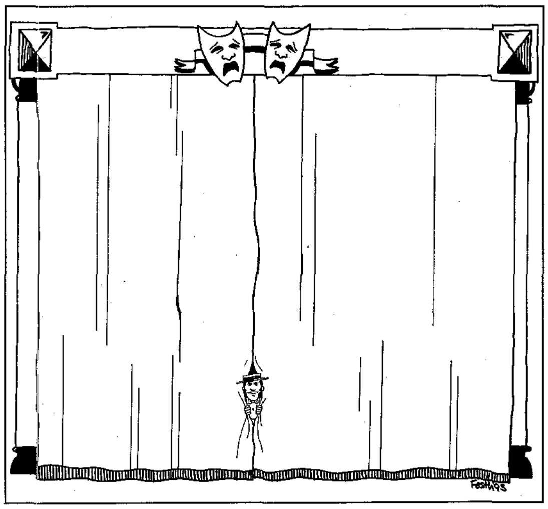
Best, Al

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

No More Enchanted Evenings

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

RONALD REAGAN once said that he couldn't read his official papers the previous night because *The Sound of Music* was on television. No wonder he swept the country! Here, plainly, was a politician with a proper sense of values. *The Sound of Music*, hated by curmudgeons but loved by almost everyone else, represents well enough the greatest American art form of the twentieth century, the musical play. Now, just fifty years after *Oklahoma!* opened on Broadway, is a suitable time to reconsider, in wonderment, the treasures we were given and how much we have lost.


Peter Fasth

The musicals of that golden age—plays and films—are not mere cult classics. Quite the contrary. What else has touched so many people with joy? We have only to hear the opening notes or glimpse a song title—"The Way You Look Tonight," "Some Enchanted Evening," "I've Grown Accustomed to Her Face"—for the tunes to come flooding irresistibly back: and the words, as poetry should, have become part of the fabric of our minds. Such commonplace things as laughter across a crowded room or cigarette smoke in your eyes have been endowed, for us all, with an emotive, nostalgic meaning.

No one can doubt the quality of such work; its adhesiveness alone is proof. Nor could anyone plausibly deny the subsequent degeneration of popular music. Occasionally a song may still be added to the canon: but even the manifestly brilliant Stephen Sondheim, who was taught by Oscar Hammerstein, has been able to do only once or twice in his career what Hammerstein, Rodgers, Kern, and Porter did countless times. Andrew Lloyd Webber could no more write "Younger than Springtime" than he could write a Beethoven symphony.

To us looking back, the quantity offered seems almost as amazing as the quality achieved. On September 16, 1927, Vincent Youmans's *No, No, Nanette* was launched; on September 18, a new show by Rodgers and Hart, *Dearest Enemy*, opened; on the 21st came Rudolf Friml's *The Vagabond King*; on the 22nd *Sunny* by Kern and Hammerstein: all within six days. In the 1927–28 season 53 musicals opened in New York. And the golden age of the American musical had not yet even begun. Nor had movies yet found their singing voice. By the close of the 1930s Hollywood was producing as many as forty new musicals a year, most of them with original scores.

Compare any recent season, in Hollywood, New York, or London. There have been virtually no musical films at all; and the theaters both of New York and of London have experienced a long succession of well-deserved flops, which vanished after a few nights or weeks, leaving, one might say, not a trace behind. Meanwhile, there has been a happier succession of revivals, compilations of old songs, even old Hollywood musicals transferred (with varying fortunes) to the stage. A new kind of musical show has made money, but the contrast is painfully clear. About a revival of *The Sound of Music* one reviewer said that "the melodic score has an enduring richness undreamt of in latter-day musicals"; about a revival of *Show Boat* another concluded that it was "a thousand times better than *Miss Saigon* or *Phantom of the Opera*." The objective truth of those judgments can hardly be challenged.

But how shall we explain it? Must we be content to say that the wind of genius comes and goes mysteriously? Or should we seek some external correlation, some social or political significance?

Musicals that were openly about politics constitute a recognized and respectable strain, with an ancestry which includes Aristophanes and Gilbert and Sullivan, but they were not the most significant, even politically. The roll call is quite brief. The most admired was *Of Thee I Sing*, which had a Gershwin score ("Wintergreen for President. He's the man the people choose, loves the Irish and the Jews . . .") and was the first musical to win a Pulitzer Prize; Brooks Atkinson wrote that it was "funnier than the government and not nearly so dangerous." *Fiorello* boasted a pair of exquisitely sharp, funny, and amusing songs, "Little Tin Box" and "Politics and Poker." *Strike Up the Band*, about the futility of war and the ruthlessness of capitalism, was not much liked at the time, though a revival, with a new plot and fresh songs, fared somewhat better. *Up in the Park*, about Boss Tweed, became an ill-suited vehicle for Deanna Durbin. More recently, *King*, about Martin Luther Jr., with lyrics by Maya Angelou, opened in London to avoid the New York critics, and closed six weeks later, having lost $3 million.

Anglo-American audiences are not fond of political themes. A French director, on the other hand, said recently that his favorite American musicals were those, such as *Of Thee I Sing*, which had plots "more committed, more inflammatory, on social issues . . . militant . . . almost Brechtian." Obviously he understands American mu-

---

Mr. Lejeune is NR*'s longtime London correspondent.*

sicals as little as the French intellectual admirers of Alfred Hitchcock understood Hitchcock (who despised them).

Within the Broadway tradition doses of political medicine go down only when administered with large spoonfuls of sugar. The bitterest song, "Thank You, Herbert Hoover," comes from the thoroughly cheerful *Annie*, in which, although a kindly Roosevelt welcomes the little girl to his Cabinet meeting, Daddy Warbucks is unashamedly a Republican. Nobody thinks of *The Pyjama Game* as political, although it centers on a strike (applauded and successful, naturally—neither Broadway nor Hollywood ever takes an anti-trade-union stance), or of *South Pacific* and *Finian's Rainbow* as political, despite their anti-racist themes. *High Society* contains a mildly conservative message—that the over-taxed rich deserve some sympathy; more usual was *Riding High*, in which Bing Crosby rebukes the businessman for "accumulating wealth and gobbling up the little fellow." Right-wing themes are rare, unless you count a penchant for royalty and religion.

Roosevelt borrowed his campaign song, "Happy Days," from a harmless 1929 musical called *Chasing Rainbows*: *Camelot* acquired its political echoes retrospectively: and political correctness now sniffs out, or brings in, all sorts of political implications which were never intended. For the excellent new production of *Carousel* at London's National Theatre, the producer thought it amusing to have a black actor play Mr. Snow, anomalous though such "integrated casting" must be and pointlessly distracting from one of the show's most beautiful songs. In "Limehouse Blues" Gertie Lawrence used to sing "where yellow Chinkies love to play"; the Julie Andrews version, from *Star*, has "where Orientals love to play." Even those who resist such meddling might accept the need to change one line in revivals of *Show Boat*: "Gay looks a bit queer today."

The few politicians who have themselves dabbled in the songwriting art were sensible enough to leave their politics behind. Jimmy Walker, who had the best campaign song ever, "The Sidewalks of New York," wrote "Will You Love Me in September as You Do in May?" Coolidge's Vice President composed the tune of "It's All in the Game," and a chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee wrote, under a pseudonym, "You Are My Honeysuckle."

The roots of the American musical lie, admittedly, in Europe, whence most of its practitioners or their parents came. At the turn of the century, however, even more than today, the stages of New York and London formed a single culture, distinct from continental Europe. The only place and time almost as rich in musical comedy as 1940s and '50s Broadway was Edwardian London. Richard Rodgers said that Jerome Kern had one foot in America and one in Europe. Certainly the partnership of Kern and P. G. Wodehouse transformed the language of the musical theater on both sides of the Atlantic, although more conclusively, as things turned out, in America than in Britain. They molded their songs from the rhythms of colloquial speech. However, it was Kern without Wodehouse (the lyric was by Herbert Reynolds) who gave America one of the first, and still most haunting, examples. He wrote some additional numbers for *The Girl from Utah*. Among them was "They Didn't Believe Me." By the time Julia Sanderson, the star, went into the final chorus on that August night in 1914, the entire audience was singing with her, "And when I told them how wonderful you are . . ."

Lorenz Hart, having written *Lido Lady* for the British stage in 1926, recalled: "It was Miss Courtneidge and Jack Hulbert who took us over to London. They agreed with us that the musical comedy as such is now an American monopoly. English musical comedies are too light. Their music is too feathery." The grand exemplars of the European tradition—Sigmund Romberg, Rudolf Friml, Victor Herbert—became Americanized. Wodehouse followed Kern to New York. Kurt Weill was liberated, by exile, from the influence of his German Marxist partner, Bertolt Brecht, to write "September Song," "Speak Low," and "Green-Up Time."

"The musical-comedy lyric," mused Wodehouse, "is an interesting survival of the days, long since departed, when poets worked." He meant that the lyrics were expected to rhyme properly, contain the right number of syllables, and be comprehensible. It was true then. His own most famous lyric, the words for "Bill," had been written in 1916, but surfaced, and survives, in *Show Boat*. *Show Boat* fits oddly into the history of the musical. Jerome Kern worked on it all his life; its various incarnations featured both his first

Only One Machine Equals a Balanced Workout!

NordicTrack's Total-Body FitnessSystem™

Today experts recommend both aerobic exercise and strength training. Here's why: studies show that **people over age 30 can lose at least a half-pound of muscle each year.** Now NordicTrack's Total-Body Fitness System™ brings you a **balanced workout on one compact machine!** Its recumbent bike gives you an energizing aerobic workout. And its upper-body exerciser tones your muscles and builds your strength. Get this health-club workout in your home — in just minutes a day!

Call for a 30-day in-home trial.

Best of all, it's from NordicTrack

Call today for a FREE Video and Brochure!

1-800-892-2183 Ext. 4Q1C3

or write: NordicTrack, Dept. 4Q1C3, 104 Peavey Road, Chaska, MN 55318

☐ Please send me a free brochure

☐ Also a free VHS videotape

Name

Street

City State Zip

Phone ( )

©1993 NordicTrack, Inc., A CML Company • All rights reserved.

and his last songs. Even "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes" was originally intended for *Show Boat*. When it opened in 1927, the seriousness of the plot and the integration of mood between book and songs were the harbinger of changes which would not be fully developed for another 16 years.

That the golden age began with the arrival of *Oklahoma!* on March 31, 1943, no one disputes. *Oklahoma!* not only broke away from the conventional structure but joined words and music in a deceptively simple combination, which was pure Americana. Rodgers and Hammerstein went on to dominate the musical theater as no other composer and lyricist had ever done. Lorenz Hart and Cole Porter before, and Stephen Sondheim afterward, dazzle us by their virtuosity. The reaction to them, as one commentator, a professor of music, observed, is "I could never do that," whereas to Rodgers and Hammerstein it's more likely to be "Anyone could do that"—in which belief we should be very much mistaken.

Carousel, *South Pacific*, *The Sound of Music*, and *The King and I* followed. But they were not lonely peaks. Mingled with them, from other hands, came *Annie Get Your Gun*, *Kiss Me, Kate*, *Call Me Madam*, *Guys and Dolls*, *My Fair Lady*, and a dozen more.

THEN THE GOLD ran out. Not completely; there have been one or two later shows, and a few songs, that glinted. But, with seductive symbolism if not absolute chronological precision, Lerner and Loewe's *Camelot* marked the end of the brief shining moment.

At Hammerstein's deathbed request, Sondheim took his place as Richard Rodgers's partner for *Do I Hear a Waltz?* Their styles clashed. The British critic Sheridan Morley has written of it: "Buried somewhere in the many conceptual problems were the end of the old upbeat Broadway singalong and the beginning of a new, darker, infinitely more cynical and intriguing kind of show. This one is the crossover."

Walter Kerr, a much wiser critic, wrote of Sondheim's *Company*, after praising its many virtues: "Now ask me if I liked the show. I didn't like the show. I admired it, or admired vast portions of it, but that is another matter. Admiration stirs in the head: liking sends out signals somewhere lower in the anatomy, the pit of the stomach maybe, and gradually lets you know that you are happy to have been born, or to have been lucky enough to come tonight."

The musical stage today is dominated by quite a different genre, its most conspicuous proponents being Andrew Lloyd Webber and the impresario Cameron Mackintosh. The roots again were in England, but the soil by now was poisoned. This new genre belongs to the rock-and-pop era. The concept of melody has been shattered: lights and noise rule. Whereas Rodgers and Hammerstein took what appeared simple themes and elevated them, Lloyd Webber and his contemporaries have taken portentous themes and emptied them of meaning. It is surely quite remarkable to write a play about Jesus Christ with no religion and a play about Eva Perón with no politics.

So what happened? What went wrong? Up to a point the obvious answer is doubtless the true one. Genius, like love, is unaccountable: "Who can explain it? Who can tell you why?" Nobody now can write like Rodgers and Hammerstein because nobody now *is* Rodgers or Hammerstein. Talent, however, will be nourished or inhibited by the surrounding culture. We shall never know how many decent plays and whistleable songs have been lost because the artists who might have written them were led astray by false modern gods.

There are straightforward pragmatic reasons, too. The decline of Hollywood inevitably contributed to the decline of musicals, depriving songwriters of their most lavish, if not their most discerning, patron. And if movies today are aimed principally at subliterate teenagers with cloth ears deafened by the Walkmans glued to them, theater audiences have changed too. Sophisticated theatergoers in evening dress have been replaced, very largely, by tourists. Japanese faces in the stalls and polyglot chatter in the foyer suggest that witty, complex lyrics are unlikely to be appreciated. A roller-skating chorus, with lighting which resembles (according to one horrified reviewer) "a high-tech disco from Hell," or a spectacularly falling chandelier, has more appeal.

Simultaneously an insidious cultural shift has occurred—a movement away from words. It is manifested, not only by all those young people for whom videos have ousted books, but also by the whiz-kid products of Los Angeles film schools, who regard "visuals" as more important than scripts. A comparable shift affected the musical theater when the emphasis moved from song to ensemble dancing, from writer-driven to director-led shows. Lloyd Webber has admitted, unnecessarily, that he is not much interested in plot. But plot matters. The energy with which, for example, "This Is Our Once-a-Year Day" was danced in *The Pyjama Game* is indeed among the glories of American show business, but without the book and lyrics it would have been quite literally meaningless.

This development seems to me profoundly worrying. A move away from words is a move away from thought, since words are the bricks from which thought is made. Communist regimes tended to like dancing, whether folk or ballet, because it was safe: it conveyed very little in the way of ideas.

The musical has suffered much the same fate as America's other indigenous art form, the Western (see my comments in *NR*, December 31, 1989). A worm has entered and corrupted the apple, with positive encouragement from those who think that life is just a bowl of jello. Although—indeed because—they could be as corny as Kansas in August, classic musicals, like classic Westerns, had a truth which touched the heart. Oscar Hammerstein said that what moved him to tears was not tragedy but sudden happiness. This is a most unfashionable attitude in the modern theater, where "heart-warming" and "tear-jerking" are terms of contempt. Paradoxically, sophistication and simplicity have been discarded together. As the words grew softer, hearts grew harder.

The effects of this transformation extend far beyond Broadway, just as the songs of Rodgers and Hammerstein went far beyond Broadway. The great days of the Broadway musical, like the great days of Hollywood, exerted a political influence deeper and wider than any propaganda could have achieved. They showed the world and showed Americans themselves much that was best about America. The shadows have lengthened now, the air has grown chilly: but, for at least a little while, not so long ago, there really was a bright golden haze on the meadow. ☐

This Is the End

CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN

FOR John Lukacs, the nineteenth century extends from 1815 to 1914; the twentieth from 1914 to 1989. The end of the twentieth century—Lukacs's main theme—is seen as the prelude to the end of the Modern Age. Lukacs writes near the end of his book:

The End of the Twentieth Century and the End of the Modern Age, by John Lukacs (Ticknor & Fields, 291 pp., $21.95)

> So in the 1990s we also know what people five hundred years ago did not know: that we are approaching the end of an entire historical era. This book addresses the end of the twentieth century, not the end of the Modern Age, which is not yet. But many of the main features of the Modern Age, which began around 1500, have come to, or very near to, their end now: the expansion of Europe; the expansion of the white race, the colonial empires; the Atlantic as the center of history; the predominance of sea power; liberalism; humanism; bourgeois culture; the predominance of urban and urbane civilization, the increasing permanence of residence; the cult of privacy, the Newtonian concept of the universe and of physical reality; the ideal of scientific objectivity; and Age of the Book. Many of these conditions and ideals have now weakened. Some of them disappeared altogether. None of them proved to be perennial or leakproof. They were created by and incarnated in institutions that still exist and function, but in ever more different ways and for different purposes; and many of them have become antiquated and sclerotic.

This book consists for the most part of historical and political reflections, but these are interspersed with fragments of autobiography and accounts of journeys mostly in Eastern Europe, especially in the author's native Hungary. A specimen of autobiography:

> 17 August 1991. I was an early anti-Communist. At the age of 17 I read Marx, and found him almost always unrealistic, at times unreadable. I wrote about this intellectual experience in my *Confessions of an Original Sinner*, and about error after error in Marxist philosophy elsewhere. I shall not sum up these things here. I left my native country and my family in 1946, at the age of 23, even before Hungary became entirely Communist-ruled; I knew that this would happen because of the Russian presence, and soon. The future, including my own future, was America.

John Lukacs now lives in Pennsylvania. He applauds the anti-Communism of "those who have lived in countries and in places where Communists or their satellites are in power." He goes on:

> Where they are not, a self-identification with anti-Communism suggests a kind of self-satisfaction, the source of which is, more than often, the desire for respectability, the wish to assert that one belongs within the mainstream of public opinion, and within the authentic community of the nation. I have seen plenty of opportunistic Communist fellow travelers in my life (and not only in the twilight years of 1945–46 in Hungary); I have, alas, seen even more opportunistic anti-Communists in the United States, many former leftists among them.

He diagnoses the reasons for the collapse of the Soviet Empire with a neatly sustained metaphor:

> Yet the digestive problems of the Russians were insufficiently understood in the West, and especially misconstrued in the United States. From the Russians' bad table manners people concluded that their appetite was insatiable, whereas the opposite was rather true: their digestion was poor.

He identifies with precision the nature of the transition of power in the former Soviet Union:

> What has already happened is the replacement of one kind of state bureaucracy by another one: a nominally (but often only nominally) Communist one by a populist nationalist one, often composed of the same kind of people, and sometimes of the very same ones.

Lukacs sees a limited but significant revival of German nationalism, and a great expansion of German influence to the East. On nationalism:

> Are the Germans immune to the revival of their nationalism? Yes and no. Yes: because for most Germans the rejection of the Hitler past is not merely the result of a politic calculation. No: because that rejection is not necessarily identical with a

IMPEACH CLINTON

THIS IS THE MOST SOUGHT AFTER BUMPER STICKER IN THE U.S.A. !

TO COMMEMORATE THE HIDEOUS PERFORMANCE OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION THUS FAR, "ON THE RIGHT" PROMOTIONS OFFERS THE FOLLOWING ITEMS OF POLITICAL OUTRAGE FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT :

IMPEACH CLINTON

BUMPER STICKERS.... $ 3.49 Each - Postage Paid
COFFEE MUGS........... $ 6.99 Each - Postage Paid
BASEBALL CAPS......... $ 8.99 Each - Postage Paid
T-SHIRTS...................... $13.99 Each - Postage Paid

OTHER BUMPER STICKER TITLES:
IMPEACH HILLARY TOO...................... $ 3.49 Each - Postage Paid
IMPEACH THE PRESIDENT... & HER HUSBAND TOO.... $ 3.49 Ea. - Postage Pd.

ALL ITEMS "KREMLIN RED" PRINTING ON WHITE BACKGROUND.
SPECIFY T-SHIRT SIZE (M-L-XL) WHEN ORDERING.

To order send check or money order to:
"ON THE RIGHT" PROMOTIONS
705 - B MACE AVENUE DEPT.- IC BALTIMORE, MD 21221
For Additional Info. Call 1-(410)-391-4100

> rejection of German nationalism, including its memories. In the event of a surge of a populist nationalist party, people such as Kohl and others of his party will not be immune to the temptation to seek some kind of compromise, to adopt some of the rhetoric and some of the politics of the new nationalists of a younger generation. Again there will be more to that temptation than politic calculation. The official repudiation of the Hitler era will not cease. Nor will the cultivation of good German relations with Israel. But the time may come when at least some of the German memories of the Third Reich and of the Second World War may undergo a deeply felt revision, a matter of memory, which will be more than a matter of quarrel among historians; for, as Kierkegaard once said, "we live forward but we can only think backward"—and there is, of course, an inseparable connection between memory and knowledge, between a view of the past and a view of the future, between thinking and living.

On expansion:

> Then there is the prospect of returning German power. Not yet. The Germans have their hands full with the East German mess for some years to come. Also—and this is more important—most of the West German people *have* come to terms with their history, so that the idea of a recurrent German expansion to the east is still alien to them. Yet there is a great political vacuum in Eastern Europe; and it is reasonable to assume that this will be filled eventually by Germany. This applies to the political configurations within each nation, too; there will be (indeed, there already are) certain political parties attracted to and willing to depend on German, rather than on other Western European or American, political support. Keep in mind the prospective fragmentation of Eastern Europe: Slovenia, Croatia, Slovakia, the Baltic states, and the Ukraine are natural allies of Germany. What is already happening in Eastern Europe (consider but the Yugoslav crisis as I write this) is not only the dismantling of Yalta—that is, of the results of the Second World War. Here and there we see the dismantling of Versailles, of the results of the First World War. Indeed, the twentieth century is over.

Without being entirely explicit about it, Lukacs appears to see German influence replacing American throughout most of the Old World. Where he is explicit is in seeing the end of the twentieth century as also the end of the American Century:

> The twentieth century was the American Century not only because of the overwhelming power of the United States but also because of the overwhelming influence and prestige of things American. The American dollar became the universal standard of currency throughout the world. Many of the most valuable objects of European art and many of the greatest European artists came across the Atlantic to the United States. American universities became global centers of research and study. American customs, American practices, American music, and American popular culture were emulated in the farthest corners of the globe. As early as 1925, millions of people in Europe knew the names and faces of American movie stars while they knew not the name of their own prime minister. Much of this is still going on. Yet many of these movements—movements of power, of prestige, or presence—continue no longer. It seems that the twenty-first century will not be an American Century. There is nothing particularly ominous in that prospect, and I mean for Americans. What is ominous is that the end of the twentieth century, the end of the American Century, is part and parcel of the ending of the entire Modern Age.

Without reaching a definitely pessimistic conclusion, Lukacs is clearly apprehensive about what may follow the End of the Modern Age. In the kinds of rampant populist nationalism which have now taken the place of Communism in the former Soviet Union and in former Yugoslavia, as well as in stirrings of the Far Right in Germany and France, Lukacs discerns a potential for what he calls "a New Barbarism":

> "To bring out of a state of barbarism": that was apposite to the beginning of the Modern Age. Near the end of the Modern Age our task—and our problems—are different: how not to accept the descent to a New Barbarism. We know something that people at the beginning of the twentieth century could not even imagine: that the advance of technology and barbarism are no longer irreconcilable. Goebbels realized that as early as 1939: "National Socialism had understood how to take the soulless framework of technology and fill it with the rhythm and hot impulses of our time." Not National Socialism: rather, the New Barbarians of whom the Nazis were but one variant of forerunners.

Whether or not we accept all of Lukacs's insights, we surely have to recognize, as we read *The End of the Twentieth Century*, that we are in the presence of one of the most powerful, as well as one of the most learned, minds formed by that century. It is an ominous symptom of the state of our culture, as that century nears its end, that John Lukacs is relatively little known, while quackery which should be obvious, such as Francis Fukuyama's "End of History" theory, has been very widely and solemnly discussed, and is still taken seriously, even after it has been comprehensively refuted by history itself.

When I compare the reception of Lukacs to that of Fukuyama, I detect an encroachment of the New Barbarism. ☐

Mr. O'Brien has just published The Great Melody: A Thematic Biography of Edmund Burke *(University of Chicago).*

Into the Whirlwind

JEROLD S. AUERBACH

The First Dissident: The Book of Job in Today's Politics, by William Safire (Random House, 336 pp., $23)

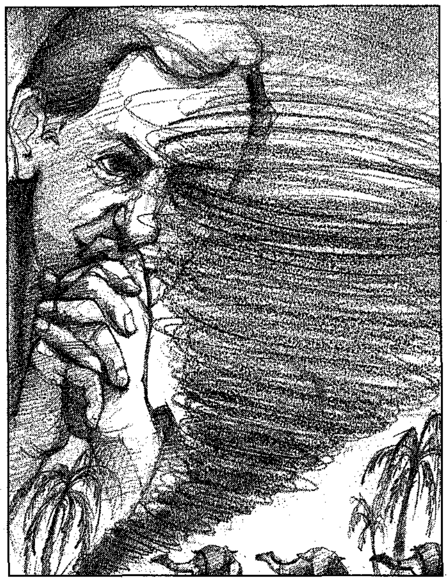
THE INTERSECTION of theology and politics is hazardous territory, conjuring images of inflamed zealots transforming mundane political activity into holy war. Although biblical imagery has pervaded American political discourse since the Puritans arrived in Massachusetts Bay, and piety and politics have been intertwined throughout our history, the mixture is sufficiently volatile to install wariness among all but the most intrepid political partisans.

Enter William Safire. Perched astride the *New York Times*, on the op-ed page and in the *Sunday* magazine, Mr. Safire has become our leading "political lexicographer," as he describes himself. His meditation on the Book of Job and its application to contemporary political behavior, *The First Dissident* is predictably contrarian.

Safire's engagement with Job is evident and explicit: "I find the Book of Job more intellectually challenging, emotionally satisfying, spiritually uplifting, and politically instructive than any other part of the Bible." Since his undergraduate years, Safire writes, "This puzzling and infuriating biblical character has haunted my life." To be a Joban, Safire suggests, "is to be outraged by injustice and to be determined to right Authority's wrongs."

Job, "the first dissident," is Safire's "political metaphor for . . . principled resistance to authoritarian rule." Or, more succinctly, "dissent is Godly." Job becomes the precursor of Safire's modern political heroes, including Natan Sharansky, Vaclav Havel, Menachem Begin, Andrei Sakharov, and Mustapha al-Barzani (the Kurdish leader to whom the book is dedicated).

The Book of Job, of course, raises profoundly troubling issues about divine and human behavior. Its exploration of the correlation, if any, between sin and suffering, between human faith and divine blessing, is perennially alluring, and invariably tormenting. Mr. Safire rejects any notion of a patient Job, suffering his terrible ordeal while passively resigned to his fate. His Job, instead, symbolizes "the sufferer's outrage at God's refusal to do justice."



Savio

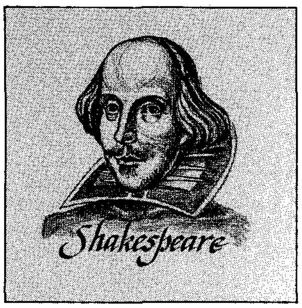
Mr. Safire's preference for the irreverent Job, whose enraged objection to divine behavior "stands like Everest in the range of Scripture," is understandable. But since both the passive and the protesting Job can be found in the same text—perhaps, say biblical critics, because it once was two texts—his approach often is idiosyncratically Safirian. "I am abandoning the pretense of objective analysis of what the author meant, and am joining in the editing and updating of the ancient book to fit my circumstances." The Book of Job, for Safire, is "written on stretch papyrus"; therefore it "can be fitted to the times and to the changing limits of dissent."

For someone as fastidiously concerned with linguistic precision as Mr. Safire, this becomes an occasionally hazardous excursion into the quicksand of literary deconstruction. The Book of Job need not be written on stretch papyrus for moderns to engage with it, imaginatively and thoughtfully. But once it is rewritten as a political tract, to conform to what Mr. Safire aptly labels "the age of dissidence," it loses what may be its deepest, most profoundly troubling meaning. For in Safire's Job we rarely

---

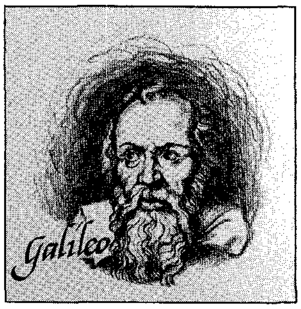
Mr. Auerbach is the author of Unequal Justice, Justice without Law? *and* Rabbis and Lawyers: The Journey from Torah to Constitution. *He is a professor of history at Wellesley College.*

ACCEPT NO SUBSTITUTES...We don't!

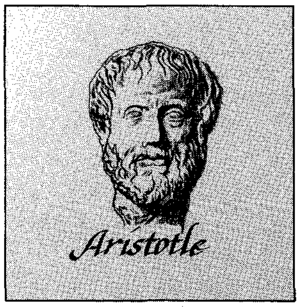


Romantic love — royal government — theory and practice of tragic, comic, and lyric poetry.
Teacher: Wm. Shakespeare

Natural law and natural rights — American constitution — theory of republican government.
Teacher: A. Lincoln



Kinematics — strength of materials — natural philosophy.
Teacher: G. Galilei



Ethics — politics — physics — poetics — metaphysics.
Teacher: Aristotle

Catholic liberal education through the great books of the Western world.

For information or to arrange a visit, CALL TOLL FREE: 1-800-634-9797. From Canada, call collect: (805) 525-4417. Or write: Thomas J. Susanka, Director of Admissions

THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE
Box 105
10000 North Ojai Road
Santa Paula, California 93060

glimpse the excruciating obligation, as described by Professor Jon D. Levenson of Harvard Divinity School, to accept "God's inscrutable and unimpugnable mastery."

Nor was Job, *pace* Mr. Safire, "the first dissident," nor even the first biblical dissenter from divine injustice. Long before Job's time, Abraham confronted God, who was prepared to destroy the righteous along with the wicked of Sodom and Gomorrah, with the stunning challenge: "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do justly?" Job may have been Abraham's worthy successor, but he was a successor nonetheless.

The First Dissident can be understood as an extended personal *midrash*, the Jewish term for biblical exegesis and commentary, on power. It is not a theological tract, but a handbook for dissenters. Safire offers a menu of axioms to strengthen our backbones: "beware consensus"; "no need is more urgent than the need to know"; "it is better to be irate than resigned"; and, somewhat more cautiously, "don't let disputes with authority grow into challenges of its legitimacy."

Nor is Safire reticent to apply Joban categories to political leaders, including Richard Nixon, George Bush, and that most incongruous theologian of politics, Gary Hart. The great political issues, as Safire claims, may indeed be Joban, but it trivializes Job, more than a little, to rehash such matters as how good a friend to Israel Nixon truly was, or what were the consequences of Jack Kennedy's extramarital affairs for the dictates of personal loyalty.

We know that Job suffered, in solitude if not in silence, as the pawn in a power struggle between God and Satan. But it is risky to isolate the Book of Job from its context. If there is an overriding theme in the Hebrew Bible, surely it is the necessity for obedience to divine command, and the terrible consequences that inevitably follow upon disobedience. This would hardly satisfy Mr. Safire's penchant for dissent, which, of course, explains his preference for the Book of Job. But even Job, in the end, recognized and respected the inaccessible mystery of divine behavior. He knew, better than anyone, the distinction between authority and Authority. □

The Gripes of Roth

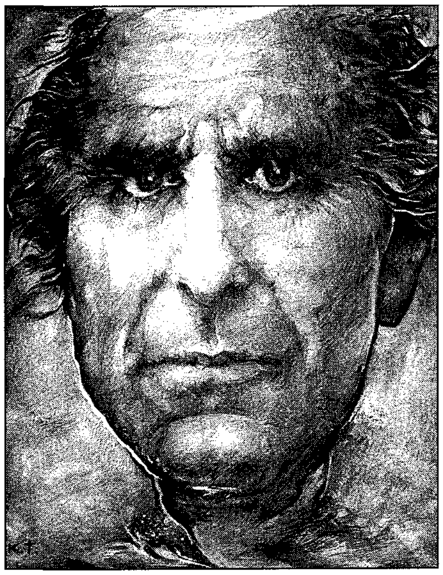
RICHARD BROOKHISER

PHILIP ROTH's latest book is about Philip Roth, so what else is new? Only that this time, there are two of him.

The first Philip Roth, the author of *Goodbye, Columbus* and *Portnoy's Complaint*, is the narrator of *Operation Shylock*. The second Philip Roth swims into view when the author learns that there is a man in Jerusalem giving lectures and interviews under his name. Roth I flies to Israel to find out what Roth II's game might be.

Operation Shylock, by Philip Roth (Simon & Schuster, 398 pp., $23)

Roth II's game is ostensibly political. He presents himself as an apostle of Diasporism, an ideology he devised to avert a second, Middle Eastern Holocaust by persuading Jews of European ancestry to move back to Europe, where he believes they will be safer. Roth the Diasporist argues that the horrors of the first Holocaust gave European anti-Semitism a healthy and perhaps mortal shock; to expunge whatever remains of it, he has also invented Anti-Semites Anonymous, a self-help recovery group with ten AA-like tenets: "1. We admit that we are haters prone to prejudice and powerless to control our hatred. 2. We recognize that it is not Jews who have wronged us but we who hold Jews responsible for our troubles and the world's evils. . . ." The charter member of Anti-Semites Anonymous is the Diasporist's busty Polish-Irish girlfriend. (When she and the author meet, do they—? What do you think this is, a Palliser novel?)



Katherine Trunk

Though the second Roth insists that Philip Roth is his own real name, he trades on the borrowed celebrity of the author. As other people begin to confuse the two, the author finds himself espousing Diasporism. Palestinian nationalists and Israeli intelligence get into the act, and by the end of the book, the author volunteers to perform a mission for the Mossad.

Philip Roth is incapable of writing a dank sentence, and this book contains many sparklers, always about some permutation of Jewish life and what living it has done to Jews. An Arab intellectual calls Israel "a Jewish Belgium, without even a Brussels to show for it." A Holocaust survivor who paints, badly, wonders if his lack of talent is Hitler's fault. "If it's any comfort to you," the narrator tells him, "Hitler painted worse." "No," says the artist, "I've seen his pictures. Even Hitler painted better than I do." Roth the author remembers the strangeness of going to Hebrew school in New Jersey in 1943. "For one hour a day . . . we sat there and learned to write backwards, to write as though the sun rose in the west and the leaves fell in the spring, as though Canada lay to the south, Mexico to the north, and we put our shoes on before our socks."

The book is a mess, though, because the plot device of a second Roth and the introduction of spies and spying allow Roth—the real one—to indulge himself in tiresome games of indeterminacy. This is a technique familiar to veterans of grade-school "literary magazines," whose stories of time- or space-travel contain the line *And then I woke up*. But then the hero finds in his pocket Abraham Lincoln's nail clippers or a phaser from Alpha Centauri, and asks himself, *Was it a dream?*

Mr. Brookhiser an NR *senior editor, is the author of* The Way of the WASP.

Roth did not begin this way. His first stories and novels were straightforward looks at Jewish life in America. Long before *Operation Shylock*, Roth was a Diasporist, who wrote of the American experience in two styles. The first, which produced his early short stories and *Goodbye, Columbus*, was intricate but smooth, a comely offspring of Henry James. The second, explosive stand-up, first appeared in print in *Portnoy's Complaint*. With two strings to his bow, Roth seemed poised for who knew what.

Yet the amusing, outrageous things Roth had revealed about Jews in both his voices turned out to be too hard to take. Not for other Jews, of whose hostile reactions Roth makes altogether too much (at one point in *Operation Shylock* a character grandiosely compares Roth's critics to Spinoza's), but for Roth himself. Later books either revisited the scene of his literary crimes (*The Ghost Writer*, *Zuckerman Unbound*), or constructed earnest apologies to his parents (*Patrimony*), or tugged at the cat's cradle of *What is real?*, as this one does. Behind them all slouches the figure of Roth himself, the nimblest writer in America gone heavy-footed with angst. "Come, someone, anyone," he cries, in the words of Alexander Portnoy, "find me out and condemn me—I did the most terrible thing you can think of: I took what I am not supposed to have!" Or wrote what he was not supposed to write.

Evasiveness not only snarls the story of *Operation Shylock*, it also undermines the moral, if that's what it is. At various points in the book, characters who seem to be credible argue that Israel is an unjust state which manipulates the dual loyalties of non-Israeli Jews. That makes Pat Buchanan sound like Norman Podhoretz, if it is meant seriously. But in this book, it can't be taken any more seriously than a reflection in a tailor's triple mirror.

Something else is eating Roth in *Operation Shylock*: the funk of a late-twentieth-century writer watching the news and the docudramas. Roth juggles some big stories here—Leon Klinghoffer's murder, John Demjanjuk's trial, Zionism, the Holocaust —without being able to shake the suspicion that his dexterity is somehow beside the point.

> All this writing by non-writers, I thought, all these diaries, memoirs, and notes written clumsily with the most minimal skill, employing one one-thousandth of the resources of a written language, and yet the testimony they bear is no less persuasive for that, is in fact that much more searing precisely because the expressive powers are so blunt and primitive.

It is depressing to see so talented a man succumb to such a confusion of categories. Writing is not ward-heeling, or geopolitics. A writer must believe not only that he writes better than Hitler, but that he is in some sense more important than Hitler. If he doesn't, then let him become a Mossad agent, or a voter. Otherwise, let him write better books than this one, please. ☐

FILM

Straining for Significance

JOHN SIMON

WHY the perennial obsession with updating stories? Why turn the she-wolf of Romulus and Remus into a prize-winning Irish wolfhound at yesterday's dog show? It is much easier for a true artist to transport us to his time than for us, his less gifted interpreters, to drag him to a time and place he did not envisage. The true story of Martin Guerre perfectly fitted, and discomfited, medieval France, and needed only the scrupulous retelling it got in Daniel Vigne's *Le Retour de Martin Guerre*.

Martin, a young boy in Artigat, at the foot of the Pyrenees, was married off to the even younger Bertrande, two greedy peasant families thus pooling their lands and wanting prompt progeny to cultivate them. For seven years, though, Martin would not cohabit with his wife; finally he did, then bolted and vanished. Eight years later a man came back claiming to be Guerre; although some things, such as his shoe size, were wrong, he knew everything about the villagers, his family, his wife. He won them over in that order, and spent three happy years begetting children and increasing the property. Then an uncle sued him, with Bertrande as co-plaintiff. Two trials ensued, and Martin nearly won—until the *real* Martin showed up. There was a confession, a public apology, and a hanging right outside the conjugal habitation.

All great impostures fascinate, but this one even more so because of the ambiguous position of the wife. Can a spouse be thus hoodwinked? Or was it collusion? But then why, after three years of connubial bliss, would she reverse herself? And how could the false Martin have learned all about the villagers, even Bertrande's most closely guarded secrets? Yet all this can be made believable in its medieval setting, and in the shadow of the gallows. Transpose it to post–Civil War America as ***Sommersby***, with Jack Sommersby, the brutish Kentucky landowner returning after eight years of war and captivity, and a lot of things no longer make a modicum of sense.

There were photographs by then, and written records and handwriting analysis, and the hangman's noose was no longer quite so Damoclean. To justify the broad outlines of the old story, complicated and confusing additions had to be introduced, notably an irrelevant murder. And can we believe a black judge in a Southern court at the very beginning of Reconstruction? Or that the new, mild, and loving Jack Sommersby would convert the valley from wheat to tobacco, and give former black slaves the same property rights as the white farmers? Or that neither Jack nor anyone else would know how to deal with the pests attacking the tobacco crop—except for the very obstinate suitor of Laurel Sommersby, formerly presumed to be a widow? And much more that's incredible in Nicholas Meyer and Sarah Kernochan's script, which besides straining credulity deflects attention from the central drama.

Deflecting, too, is the performance of Richard Gere, who comes across as a most anachronistic Jack. The actor has a certain contemporary cuteness or swagger or snottiness; he seems to know exactly where the camera is,

---

Mr. Simon, NR's *film critic, is also theater critic for* New York *magazine.*

how to present his most flattering angle to it, and how to throw away lines with consummately laid-back nonchalance. Something about this man is fishy; not because he isn't Jack Sommersby, but because he is Richard Gere. He may kill his little boy's dog (because the dog has sniffed out the truth), but he buys the child an even better puppy, and is himself as playful, whimsical, and adorable as any pup. Or it may be simply Gere's eyes: those small, shifty orbs, ever ready, if the sailing gets rough, to jump ship.

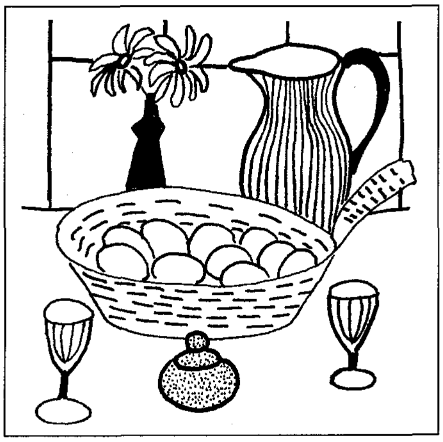
Jodie Foster, conversely, is a totally credible Laurel. Disarmingly straightforward, she seems to summon up every response by the shortest route from the core of her being—no detours, no deviations anywhere. Finally, though, the screenplay lets her down; it is too contrived, too shoddy to contain her excellence, and ends up dragging everything else down, too, including Jon Amiel's amiable direction. Only the camera of Philippe Rousselot keeps shooting the various Virginia locations with cool loveliness, and the indoor scenes with a cozy Rembrandtesque burnish, so that you believe everything you see, except the plot.

■ ***Love Field*** is such a patently cooked-up piece of goods that it need not detain us long. It concerns Lurene Hallett (Michelle Pfeiffer), a housewife from a Southern marital hell, who, to escape the callous reality of her husband, fantasizes about being gorgeous Jackie Kennedy, madly in love with scrumptious JFK. Although she clings to her platinum-blond hair, in every other way Lurene makes herself into a Jacqueline clone.

On November 22, 1963, Lurene drives to Dallas to catch a glimpse of Jackie and JFK arriving at the airport, named (to delight any film and double-entendre-maker) Love Field. After the assassination, Lurene impetuously decides to bus it up to Washington and the funeral. On the bus, she meets a black man, Paul, en route to Philadelphia with his six-year-old daughter, Jonell. The dazed little girl never speaks, and the father, too, seems to have some sort of guilty secret. Still, a friendship develops among these three as they travel from the improbable to the preposterous.

This is one of those movies whose endings—repellently—are written by the public. Several different conclusions were tried out on audiences until they chose what must surely have been the least believable of the lot. The writer is Don Roos, who also gave us the sleazy *Single White Female*; the director, Jonathan Kaplan, whose most recent credits (or debits) are *Unlawful Entry* and *Immediate Family*. Dennis Haysbert, who plays Paul, was not the filmmakers' first choice, and I can see why: his performance is bland and unidiosyncratic—in fact, dull.

But there is Michelle Pfeiffer, and, speaking as no particular fan of hers, I nevertheless have to declare her Lurene a triumph. It's not all that easy to play a silly, confused, plebeian woman and make her thoroughly likable without cheating—without, that is, embellishing her into something better than she is. Yet this appears to be Miss Pfeiffer's strong suit, as also in *Married to the Mob* and *Frankie and Johnny*, rather than in her more highly touted femme-fatale parts. Be that as it may, this Lurene is a fully rounded, humanized, and endearing creation; Miss Pfeiffer makes you forget that neither the character nor the movie makes any sense. There is also a nice supporting performance from Louise Latham, and *soigné* camera work from Ralph Bode. And a little wide-eyed black girl (Stephanie McFadden) acting scared cannot leave anyone's heartstrings untremulous.



Pam Crockett

■ When actors write and direct their own movies (or plays), disaster is usually but a step or two away. What emerges almost invariably is a set of acting exercises loosely strung together, their main purpose being to give the actors a chance to emote, *emote*, EMOTE. Any trumped-up reason is as good as another, and the camera need do little more than some stalking, swooping, and cozying up to the (often improvising) thespians in their labor of self-love. Such is the case with ***Mac***, co-written (with Brandon Cole) and directed by its leading actor, John Turturro.

Turturro, with his common, indeed coarse, face and ability to go from bewildered to furibund in a twinkling, has been a perfect interpreter of the—generally Italo-American—everyman, sometimes put-upon and pathetic, more often defiant and even vicious. At that sort of thing he has few rivals, but it needs to have strong directorial reins controlling it, rather than be given a free hand to keep slapping us in the face with.

What story there is concerns three brothers, all construction workers: Mac, whose perfectionism, learned from his father, at whose wake the movie begins, makes him run afoul of the crass Polish contractor, unsubtly named Polowski; Vico, who sees himself as a ladies' man but is, in fact, a lazy, time-serving beer-guzzler; and Bruno, the sensitive youngest brother, the first in the family to go to college, who gets involved with a fancy artists' model, Oona, a free spirit. Although one divines autobiographical elements here (Bruno + Mac = John Turturro), everything about the film is hopelessly cliché, except perhaps the zany Oona, a somewhat more hopeful cliché belonging in a different movie.

None of the brothers achieves a tangy, tangible individuality; the father—even when his corpse comes momentarily alive at the wake—is a stereotype; the mother, whom we never see, only hear as a griping and needling off-screen voice, is a gimmick. Polowski, the heavy, remains even in the deft hands of Olek Krupa another stereotype. Turturro, Michael Badalucco, and Carl Capotorto, as the brothers, fight with, support, betray, and love one another according to the time-dishonored conventions of the genre. Turturro ends up alone, running his own honorable but struggling business, sustained only by his devoted wife, played by Katherine Borowitz, his real-life spouse, and arguably the only woman who can match him in unprepossessingness.

Which makes one reflect wistfully about the wisdom of those phony old Hollywood movies where equally jerry-built stories and clapboard characters were blessed with improbably good-looking actors and actresses: at least it gave you something to look at. To watch handsome people make love on screen can be justified as an aesthetic experience; to watch two such scarecrows as these makes you feel ashamed of yourself: it must be voyeurism of the lowest grade, about as erotic as observing livestock mating on the farm. Ellen Barkin makes Oona even more absurd than written—or perhaps just as absurd, which is quite enough. Needless to say, there is also a noble black construction worker (John Amos), who falls off the roof owing to Vico's carelessness, but takes it philosophically in his stride—or lack of stride—while being showered with collections from his colleagues.

■ If *Mac* errs on the side of unsightliness, ***Indochine*** revels in every kind of beauty and banal didacticism by way of a plot. The story attempts to be an allegorical representation of the French presence in Indochina, with Catherine Deneuve as Eliane, a beautiful, passionate, ruthless, opium-smoking, but ultimately vulnerable and touching rubber-plantation owner; her lovely native ward, Camille, who ends up as a heroic freedom fighter; Camille's promised husband, Tanh, who turns into a mighty Communist rebel leader; Jean-Baptiste, the almost equally rebellious French naval officer, who becomes the lover of both Eliane and Camille; and Asselin, the chief law enforcer in Saigon, obnoxiously obsessed with Eliane.

The 155-minute film, directed by Régis Wargnier, and written by himself and three other shlockmasters (including one shlockmistress), has all the hallmarks of those thick paperback adventure novels leaving no bodice unripped or corn unreaped. The lurking allegory makes it all the more lurid, and though most of the actors look gorgeous, only the homely Jean Yanne, as Asselin, really acts. Catherine Deneuve proves yet again that stunning looks can make poor acting in movies look as excusable as justifiable homicide; at that, her underacting is better than the overacting of Vincent Perez as the mother-and-daughter-lover. The authentic scenery (Vietnam, Malaysia, Switzerland) and cinematography (François Catonné) are spectacular, and, if you can edit out the plot, you can enjoy a ravishing, albeit overlong, documentary. □

NOW, INSTANT ACCESS TO THE CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT.

Town Hall is the easy-to-use, 24 hour interactive meeting place where you can correspond, debate and exchange information with fellow conservatives via desktop computer.

Town Hall affords you instant access to prominent conservative groups and their leaders, too:

- The Heritage Foundation
- *National Review*
- Citizens Against Government Waste
- Intercollegiate Studies Institute
- American Legislative Exchange Council
- Family Research Council
- Focus on the Family
- Free Congress' National Empowerment Television
- Texas Public Policy Foundation
- State Policy Network
- International Freedom Foundation
- And more...

Keep abreast of important legislative developments, the latest efforts to mobilize conservatives and the status of your favorite issue.

And Town Hall has a new format, tailored to even the most computer illiterate person. Town Hall brings you instant communication and information about people, groups and events that are changing the political landscape.

Call 1-800-441-4142 for more information, or take an on-line tour.
Just dial 1-800-648-6964 via modem.
Hit return at the CONNECT signal. See you on Town Hall.

th
TOWN HALL
The Conservative Meeting Place

A Project of NATIONAL REVIEW and THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

WHAT YOUR INSURANCE COMPANY, YOUR AGENT, OR EVEN THE GOVERNMENT, DOESN'T TELL YOU ABOUT HEALTH INSURANCE!

A MUST READ FOR EVERY EMPLOYER/EMPLOYEE, WHETHER YOU ARE IN THE PRIVATE OR PUBLIC SECTORS.

NAME:____________________
(Please Print)

ADDRESS:____________________

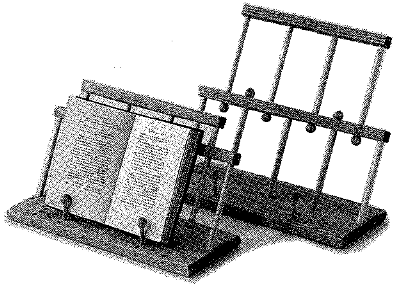
CITY:____________________

STATE:____ZIP:______TEL____________

SEND CHECK/MONEY ORDER FOR $8.95
(plus $1.50 Postage & Handling)
Illinois residents add 8.25% sales tax
TO: THE STRANGE GROUP
P. O. BOX 1206
PALATINE, IL. 60078-1206
FAX (708)358-0757
(allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery) NO COD's

THIS IS NOT A SOLICITATION OF INSURANCE.

Higher Reading



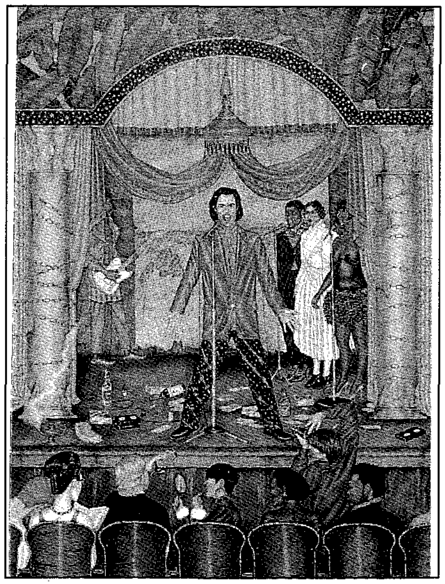
Sometimes you read heavy hardbacks, sometimes little paperbacks. Sometimes you read magazines, sometimes newspapers. And sometimes you need to hold copy next to your computer. That's why we invented our new telescoping oak bookstand. The back elevates from 7½" to 11½" high. Move the ball-topped wooden pegs on the base to different holes to adjust the reading angle and keep the pages back. The base measures 5½" by 14". Made in America of native oak.

$39.95 + $5.95 shipping
Two for $34.95 each + $5.95 shipping
MC/VISA/AMEX/DI/Check • Florida add 6%
Money-Back Guarantee • Catalog on Request
800-544-0880 or 407-276-4141

LEVENGER®
TOOLS FOR SERIOUS READERS
975 S. Congress Ave., Code NATB3, Delray, FL 33445

Nowhere Man

JAMES GARDNER



The Arthur Roser Gallery

THIS WILL BE a boring review. The reasons for its being boring are, however, exceptionally good. The subject, Douglas Bourgeois, is an artist whose name will mean nothing to you, as it means nothing to most of the art establishment. Furthermore, you will have to take my word for everything I say about him, since the accompanying reproduction gives only the most insufficient sense of his diminutive dreamscapes. But the main reason I shall risk boring the reader is that I mean to praise Mr. Bourgeois very highly. And as any reviewer will tell you, it is a thousand times harder to engage attention with praise than with invective.

I should make it clear that I have not been paid off either by Mr. Bourgeois or by his representative, the Arthur Roger Gallery. Perhaps that did not even occur to you. It should have, since most of what passes for art criticism these days is bought and paid for by the galleries in one way or another and thus has about as much intellectual integrity as a car commercial. If that seems reprehensible let me say in my colleagues' defense that, given the art they usually deal with, I can think of no better, or indeed other, reason for their writing about it at all.

But Mr. Bourgeois is nothing like most other current artists. He is a serious, subtle man, the master of his materials and the possessor of a style and vision that are unmistakably his own. When the degree of his excellence is measured against the degree of his obscurity, I believe you will agree that no other contemporary artist is more deserving of praise.

I have never met the man. I missed him recently at the opening of his first New York show, and since that was only the second time the 41-year-old has made it this far North and East, I'm afraid that we Northeasterners will not see him again soon. Bourgeois is no friend of flying and tends to stay put in St. Amant, a tiny town between Baton Rouge and New Orleans, where he lives with his parents in the house in which he was born. He has never visited Europe, and has never lived anywhere else except when he studied painting at the University of Louisiana.

On the telephone, Douglas Bourgeois comes across as the very quiddity of the Southern gentleman, soft-spoken and decorous by reflex and instinct. He does not repudiate the world of contemporary art, though he is quite certain it is not for him. "I'm sure it's all very interesting," he says, "but it's too cerebral for me. I guess I'm looking for something with more heart in it." One element of his art that allies him to his contemporaries however, is his taste for the "*sublime d'en bas*," for the exotic nobility of the marginalized and the oppressed. The locus of his paintings is most often the cheap motel room or the railroad flat. His characters are disaffected transients, members of a Genet-esque underclass: a black man arrested by a white police officer, a young homosexual who has been beaten up by pug-nosed rowdies, a Vietnamese woman standing semi-naked on a stage. The rooms in which they eke out their lives are littered with hairsprays and deodorants, toothpastes, Q-tips and Barbisol cans, all accumulating in the mind to form a mood of almost suffo-

---

Mr. Gardner writes about art for NR *and other publications.*

cating banality. Accustomed as I have become to artists hawking their politics every chance they get, I wondered what this was all about. "There's nothing really political here," the artist reassured me. "I was just working out some of my inner demons, poking around with things that interested me. My art is not angry." The white police officer, for example, began life as a saintly apparition, but in midcourse the artist changed his mind and equipped him with the hat, holster, and gun you see now.

In fact, Bourgeois is not really interested in politics at all. His art is an aesthete's challenge to an imperfect world. It is a challenge to us as well as himself to find any beauty, any nobility in that landscape of paltriness which he has rendered with such unflinching exactitude. If this can be done, if even such can be transfigured and reclaimed for beauty, then a kind of salvation has been achieved through art. This quest is in itself religious and naturally seeks to express itself in religious terms, even if they are not always recognizably orthodox. That Bourgeois was raised in the Roman Catholic Church is evident from the symbols that fill his works: the Madonna and Child and the Sacred Heart tattooed onto a chest or bicep, the Virgin and Saint Francis appearing as visions to slum tenants. Even where this religious sense is less explicit, it is present in, for example, the votive, iconic image of the singers Madonna and Aretha Franklin standing like guardian angels at the bedside of a wounded young man; or the nervous and repressed Emily Dickinson sitting with the Rapper Rakim in a desert island set in a sea of sulphurous, pentecostal fire; or a totemic black woman, rising up like a chthonian goddess covered with caterpillars and moths.

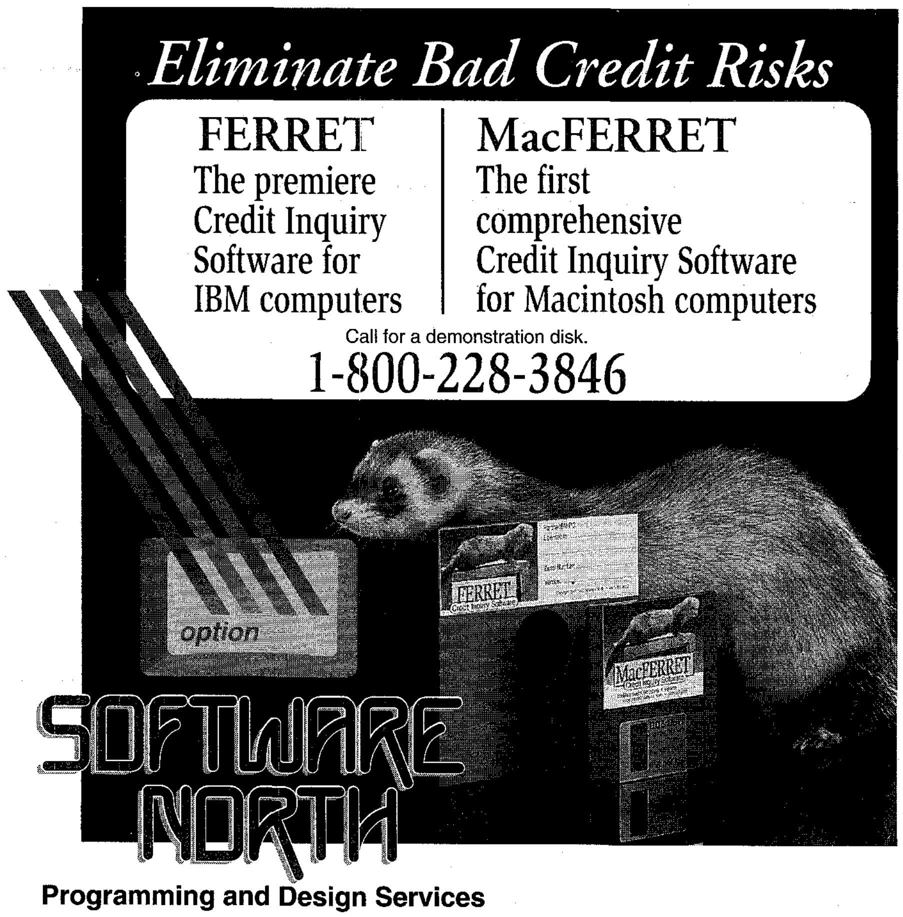
If all this sounds more than a little overwrought, it is also typical of the supersaturated, empurpled gaudiness of Louisiana itself, a place where cultures collide: Bourbon France and the Founding Fathers, the Church Triumphant and the Voodoo cults of Africa, all fermenting together in the humid swamp lands. Douglas Bourgeois delights in this violent clash, and revels in his post-modern freedom to roam the world and the ages for anything that serves his art.

But if all this makes Bourgeois charming and fascinating, it is the wealth and the brilliance of detail that set these paintings apart from all other contemporary practice and place him, I feel, on a higher level of creativity. Though most contemporary art can be seen well enough through a telescope, anyone standing more than four inches from one of Mr. Bourgeois's paintings, at least for part of his inspection, will miss half of its joy. So precise and so rich is his sense of detail that Bourgeois can produce at most six paintings in a year, or, by my calculations, about a square inch a day. Surely he is not unique among today's artists in his affection for precise renderings of the real world: this has been in vogue for the past ten years or more. Rather it is the unerring choiceness and refinement of these details that set him apart.

Though modern art has been very good at conjuring life out of abstraction, its representations, especially in the last 15 years, have looked waxen, its details either insufficient or finically overworked. Douglas Bourgeois is able to reconcile the two tendencies in the way that the Old Masters were consistently able to do. Everything from wallpaper and bathtubs to bedspreads and soiled clothes and the shimmering skin of Aretha Franklin is rendered with such scrupulous affection that I suspect we should have to look well to the other side of 1800, to artists like Gerrit Dou or Pietro Longhi, to see the like. Imagine a Jan Van Eyck depiction of a can of Barbisol and you will get some idea of what this art is about. Bourgeois is an animist for whom all objects in the visual world are endowed with a soul. As such, they are existentially equal, equally deserving of sympathy and love. It is this refusal to subordinate any one part of a composition to another—the usual practice of painters—that, I believe, imparts to his works their haunting, dreamlike, eidetic intensity.

Douglas Bourgeois is one of the rare artists alive today who deserve substantially better than they have gotten. Though all the paintings in his most recent show sold readily and at good prices, the exhibition received no coverage in the art press or any of the major newspapers. It was this injustice which, though it came as no surprise, compelled me to write in his behalf. □

("Books in Brief" begins on page 77.)


Eliminate Bad Credit Risks

FERRET
The premiere
Credit Inquiry
Software for
IBM computers

MacFERRET
The first
comprehensive
Credit Inquiry Software
for Macintosh computers

Call for a demonstration disk.
1-800-228-3846

SOFTWARE NORTH
Programming and Design Services

TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 D	2 I	■	3 T	4 L	■	5 G	■	6 N	7 F	8 C	9 A	10 H	■	11 J	12 E	13 P	14 V	15 I	16 B	■
17 N	18 G	19 O	20 L	21 D	22 T	■	23 F	24 H	25 W	26 C	■	27 R	28 P	29 A	30 N	31 J	32 E	33 C	■	34 D
35 L	36 H	37 B	■	38 K	39 T	40 V	41 W	42 O	43 Q	44 G	45 E	46 F	■	47 M	48 S	49 K	50 D	■	51 O	52 J
53 T	54 A	■	55 P	56 B	57 I	58 U	59 R	60 N	61 L	62 M	63 E	64 H	65 D	66 F	■	67 G	68 O	69 W	70 E	71 A
72 P	73 T	74 B	■	75 L	76 R	■	77 J	78 D	79 F	■	80 G	81 H	82 C	83 I	■	84 A	85 K	86 B	87 L	88 V
89 N	■	90 D	91 F	92 I	■	93 A	94 M	95 W	96 C	97 S	98 Q	99 V	100P	101K	102G	103B	■	104H	105C	106F
■	107O	108A	109L	110R	111J	112T	113G	114E	■	115N	116U	117V	118R	119T	120H	121I	122J	123D	124P	125M
■	126I	127N	128T	129K	130V	131W	132H	133D	134F	135U	136P	137B	138R	139O	■	140O	141U	142S	■	143M
144G	145E	146I	147Q	■	148E	149G	150D	151A	152B	153N	154R	155H	156S	157W	■	158A	159K	160G	■	161Q
■	162M	163W	164P	165C	166L	167D	168J	■	169Q	170H	171B	172K	■	173C	174L	175I	176T	■	177O	178F
179A	180L	■	181C	182E	■	183I	184V	■	185N	186J	187F	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

DEFINITIONS

A.	Like the grammarian's successful oration	71 151 54 93 29 108 158 9 179 84
B.	Snugly settled	171 103 37 86 137 56 152 16 74
C.	Longhauler's oasis (2 words)	173 8 181 165 33 82 26 105 96
D.	Edified	50 123 65 1 133 78 90 167 34 21 150
E.	Rebuke	148 114 182 32 12 70 145 63 45
F.	Wildly emotional	91 66 46 23 79 106 7 187 134 178
G.	Voters	149 80 18 113 67 102 44 5 144 160
H.	It allows the railroad to build (3 words)	170 132 64 24 120 155 104 36 81 10
I.	Ease	146 175 57 126 15 121 83 183 2 92
J.	Like the Rural Electrification Administration	122 186 168 31 11 111 77 52
K.	John Simon efforts	159 129 49 101 85 172 38
L.	Kitchen aid	109 75 61 166 180 87 4 174 35 20
M.	Like the spotted ones	94 162 125 62 143 47
N.	Where to find the *Times*	185 89 30 115 17 153 60 127 6
O.	Sheath or sheathe	139 19 140 177 51 107 68 42
P.	Bluish South American monkey? (2 words)	100 28 124 72 13 136 164 55
Q.	Nautical term	161 169 43 147 98
R.	Simpletons	138 110 76 27 154 59 118
S.	Hamlet was a "great" one	142 48 156 97
T.	Giving heed	119 176 39 73 112 22 3 128 53
U.	Household expense	58 116 141 135
V.	Remote	88 99 130 184 40 117 14
W.	Endurance	157 131 69 95 163 41 25

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. Tony Snow: *On Congress*: "When Team Clinton moves into the White House, it should decorate each office with a sign that reads, 'The Congress, stupid.' Congress, not the economy, most threatens a Clinton Presidency."

For Vol. II of the puzzle collection, send $5.95 (plus $1 S&H) to: T-Gram Plus, 3279 Lake Powell, Williamsburg, Virginia 23185.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Business Opportunities

MARKET CRASH
Banks too. Profit wildly.
Own stocks? INSURE them cheaply.
No stocks? Multiply your money!
(AVERAGE 1,000% Dec. '91, PROOF AVAIL.).
Sleep better!! An HONEST firm.
Four Seasons Investing
(310) 202-0934

REAL ESTATE APPRAISER careers. Home study. P.C.D.I., Atlanta, Ga. Free career literature. 800-362-7070, Dept. RA173.

WE BUY USED business telephone systems. 800-832-9659, or fax 813-247-5761.

CAPITAL AVAILABLE
For all projects
anywhere in the country.
Unlimited financing for
new and existing businesses.
Call or fax for more information.
Telephone: 915-673-0212
Fax: 915-673-0630

GET PAID for reading books! $100 per book. Send name, address to: Calco Publishing (Dept. C-452), 500 South Broad, Meriden, Conn. 06450.

Hotels

NEW YORK CITY
THE BEDFORD HOTEL
118 East 40th Street,
New York, N.Y. 10016
(Between Park and Lexington Ave.s)

Here is the "great small hotel" you look for in a big city . . . beautifully decorated rooms and suites and friendly attentive service combine to offer you total comfort at an ideal mid-Manhattan location. Fully equipped kitchenettes are available.

Ask About Discount Rates
For *National Review* Readers
Reservations: 800-221-6881 (USA & Canada)
FAX (212) 697-1093
Restaurant —Cocktail Lounge

Travel

TRIBAL TRIPS: OVERLANDING, camping, deluxe cities. Offbeat Himalayas/Africa. Land $4,950. Capers, Inc., P. O. Box 2789, Beverly Hills, Calif. 90213.

Literary

GOOD USED BOOKS—wide variety, intelligent selection. Libraries buy regularly; you can too. History, fiction, social science, literature, miscellaneous subjects. Send $2 for listings of 25,000 titles and prices. Editions, Desk NR, Boiceville, N.Y. 12412.

SO THAT'S How They're Spending Our Money! 144-page cartoon book of humorous and outrageous ways our taxes are spent. $7.95. Neseman Enterprises, 255 Highland Avenue, Hamburg, N.Y. 14075.

LET'S WRITE FICTION. Ralph McInerny, creator of Father Dowling, on audio tape, 8 lessons, booklet, album. $19.95 plus $2 p&h. Visa/MC. P. O. Box 495, Notre Dame, Ind. 46556 or 800-852-9962.

HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, THEOLOGY. Quality used OP books. Free catalogue. DeWit Books, 753 E. Saginaw, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

A *Catholic's* PERSPECTIVE:
"The newsletter for those who don't want to be more Catholic than the Pope, . . . but refuse to be less."
$24.95 per year (12 issues).
To order call toll-free:
1-800-847-2840

JEWISH ENQUIRER: Bi-monthly. Hard-hitting. Controversial. $12/year. P. O. Box B/N, Raymondville, N.Y. 13678.

Free Catalog
Bargain Books
Save up to 80% on recent overstocks, remainders, imports and reprints from all major publishers. Choose from up to 8,000 titles including 600–1,500 new arrivals each month!
Politics, History, Biography, Fiction, Science, Literature, Nature, Cooking, Gardening—something for everyone. An immense selection and with more books at $1.95, $2.95, $3.95 than you'll find anywhere else. Fast shipment, moneyback guarantee. Write for free Catalog:
HAMILTON Box 15-816
Falls Village, CT 06031

CULTURAL, HISTORICALLY BASED, literate newsletter. Reviews, etc. Free sample. Otto Scott's *Compass*, P. O. Box 1769, Murphys, Calif. 95247.

Situations Available

NATIONAL REVIEW SEEKS illustrator(s) for forthcoming children's book. Classical style. Some 4-color artwork will be used. If interested, call Jack Fowler at 212-679-7330.

NR SEEKS production manager/designer. Computer literacy, knowledge of Corel Draw or similar programs necessary. Contact Catherine Moraetis, 212-679-7330.

Organizations

TRADITIONAL and conservative Catholics. New Marian devotional society! Write: Mary Queen of the Millennium, P. O. Box 187, Bayside, Calif. 95524. Be a charter member!

FIGHT ENVIRONMENTAL EXTREMISM! Join the nonprofit Chicken Little Society! Researched quarterly newsletter, $6/year. P. O. Box 276130 (N), Boca Raton, Fla. 33427.

Hobbies

BONSAI SUPPLIES. Relax and create. Plants, books, pots, tools. Send $1 for catalogue. Bonsai Farm, P. O. Box 130-X, La Vernia, Tex. 78121.

Friendship/Etc.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS EXCHANGE® for unattached music lovers. Nationwide. P. O. Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803. 800-233-CMLS.

THE LETTER EXCHANGE brings conversation. Meet minds, not bodies. Send S.A.S.E.: P. O. Box 6218-NR, Albany, Calif. 94706.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured singles acquainted. Established 1970. Nationwide. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 215-358-5049.

JAPANESE, ASIAN, EUROPEAN friendship! Inter-Pacific, P. O. Box 304-N, Birmingham, Mich. 48012.

ASIAN PENFRIENDS! Sunshine International Correspondence, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745. 808-325-7707.

BEAUTIFUL BRITISH LADIES & eligible British gentlemen seek friendship, romance & marriage with American ladies & gentlemen—all ages! Free details: English Rose Introduction Agency (Dept. NR), Suite 2, 24 Cecil Square, Margate, Kent, England. Tel: 011-44-843-290735.

RUSSIA, SCANDINAVIA, Great Britain, Poland, etc. Worldwide correspondence between professional men, women seeking friendship, marriage. Scanna Int'l (since 1980), P. O. Box 4-NR, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534. 800-677-3170.

MEET WOMEN WORLDWIDE. Free 32-page photo catalogue! America's most respected correspondence service since 1974. Cherry Blossoms, 190NR Rainbow Ridge, Kapaau, Hawaii 96755. 408-980-7488.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $3.00 per word (10-word minimum). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P. O. Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

Frequency Discounts: 4 insertions, $2.75 per word; 6 insertions, $2.50 per word; 8 or more insertions, $2.25 per word.

NR Box Numbers: $10 additional. Responses forwarded by 1st-class mail. Address responses: c/o Tony Savage, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Display Ads: 1 column inch, $125; 2 inches, $250; 3 inches, $350. Frequency discounts available. Trim sizes are 1, 2, or 3 inches high, 2¼ inches wide. Camera-ready art must be provided. Rates apply to the Classified section only.

Restrictions: NR may reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason, without comment. No agency discounts.

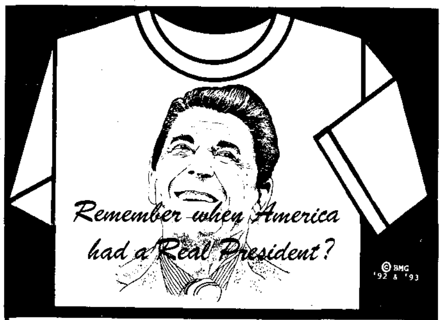
To Order: Full payment in advance by check, money order, MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Tony Savage, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

SWEET-TALK IN 50 LANGUAGES! 15-phrase scenario. Three languages $7. Free sample. 619-584-1222.

WORLDWIDE INTRODUCTIONS! Beautiful single ladies, handsome men. Pictures, descriptions. *Free.* P. O. Box 5637-NR, Reno, Nev. 89513-5637.

PENFRIENDS ENGLAND—U.S.A.—WORLDWIDE. Make lasting friendships. Send age, interests. Free reply. Currents, P. O. Box 525-NL, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11229.

T-Shirts & Bumper Stickers


Remember when America had a Real President?
© BMG '92 & '93

BUMPER STICKERS 2/$6;4/$10 (no P&H)-DISCOUNTS ON QUANTITIES

T's-$14.95 (2/$26.95)+$2 P&H
SWEATS $25 (XXL-$27) +$3 P&H

T-SHIRTS MAKE GREAT GIFTS

MOM & POP PRINT T-SHIRTS:

A Conservative, Family-run Business

When your organization needs printed T-shirts, call us.

Blue Mountain Graphics
125 Liberty St., Allentown, PA 18102
1-800-422-6067

MUCH TOO TASTELESS for *National Review*! For info on the most outrageously funny anti-Clinton button/bumper sticker around, send a S.A.S.E. to: Ben Pendleton, 310 West Burke Street, Martinsburg, W. Va. 25401.

"IT'S THE CONGRESS, STUPID": Bumper sticker. $2.50. P. O. Box 1152, Nevada City, Calif. 95959.

WHY STOP WITH Bill? Make a bolder statement! "DON'T BLAME ME, I VOTED REPUBLICAN": Bumper sticker. Red block on white, 2 lines. $2 for 1, $9 for 5, $17 for 10, $30 for 20, p&h included. All Right Now, 8421 North Evergreen Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind. 46240-2335.

Show Your Displeasure Publicly!
With your very own Red, White, & Blue
"It's Not My Fault, I Voted For BUSH!"©
100% Cotton T-Shirt, please send
Check or M.O. for $11.00 plus $4.00
S & H to: G.C.W.
P.O. Box 519, Anniston, Al, 36202
Please allow 4 weeks for delivery, and
specify size (M, L, XL).
Conservatively Yours, GCW, Jr.
For Quantity orders, call (205) 879-9185

"A DEMOCRAT AND YOUR TAXES ARE BOTH SOON WASTED": Bumper sticker. Please send $2 (check/cash) for each to IRE, P. O. Box 240628, Honolulu, Hawaii 96824.

"I'D RATHER BE *RIGHT* THAN CORRECT": Bumper sticker. $3.50 to: P.E.C., P. O. Box 6312, Eureka, Calif. 95502.

"KEMP '96": Sweatshirts. $21.50. L/XL. ECI, P. O. Box 1944, Groton, Conn. 06340-1944.

Clinton's 1040 EZ Tax Plan: JUST SEND IT ALL!

Dear Bill, read *my* lips: NO NEW TAXES!

Smoke Dope, Dodge Draft, Cheat Wife, Become President; The New American Way!

How long 'til '96? Are we there yet?

INHALE TO THE CHIEF!

NUKE the LIBERAL MEDIA

***Don't blame me,* I VOTED FOR BUSH!**

***Don't blame me,* I DIDN'T VOTE FOR CLINTON!**

POLITICALLY INCORRECT *.......and proud of it!*

Vote Democrat *It's easier than getting a job!*

***RUSH* IS RIGHT For All the Right Reasons**

Join the Rush... Limbaugh in '96!

Tees:$16.95 Bumperstickers/ Buttons:$3, 2/$5, 5+/$2

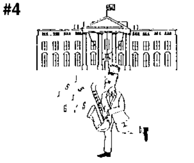
Please add $3.50 P&H on tees, Send check or $ order:
The Rascals/YL! 833 N.St. Mary's St..
San Antonio, Texas, 78205. Fax orders (210)225-7156

MC/VISA 1-800-726-7105

CUSTOM ORDERS...CALL FOR A QUOTE.

"CLINOCCHIO: A PUPPET WITH A PROBLEM": Bumper sticker, 2 for $5. Check or M/O to: Ditto Promotions, 1681 Kress, Houston, Tex. 77020.

#4

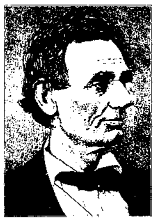


Thanks for letting me play my taxophone.

#7

the facts and the

"Let the people know

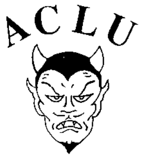


country will be saved."

A. Lincoln

America cannot afford to get the facts from a liberal media.

#6



RED DEVILS

T-Shirts .... $11.95 + $2.50 shipping
Sweatshirts........ $21.95 + $2.50 shipping
Available in White or Gray
M-L-XL-XXL (Add $2 for XXL)

Indiana Residents Add 5% Sales Tax

Send Check or Money Order to:
Conserva-T's
P.O. Box 75
Morristown, IN 46161

***Please state design number, shirt type (T or Sweatshirt), shirt size, and shirt color (White or Gray).**

"DON'T BLAME ME, I VOTED FOR BUSH": Bumper sticker (3″ × 11½″ vinyl), 2 for $5. Cash/checks: AC&E, P. O. Box 25652, Richmond, Va. 23260.

KEMP '96

T-SHIRT (100% cttn.)—$13.95
SWEATSHIRT (50/50)—$23.95
Shipping: $3 1st Item, $1.50 ea. addl.
Send check or m.o. to:
LIBER-TEES
7777 Fay Ave., Suite K153
La Jolla, CA 92037
(sizes M, L, XL)

"LIMBAUGH '96": Bumper sticker (white on blue), $3, quantity discounts. S&H Novelties, 222 Chamberlain Street, Raleigh, N.C. 27607.

"IMPEACH HILLARY": Bumper sticker. Now only $5 for 2 from EH Communications, P. O. Box 1452, Indianapolis, Ind. 46206.

"IMPEACH HILLARY!" "KEMP/LIMBAUGH '96" or "INHALE TO THE CHIEF!": Bumper stickers, $3 each or your choice with *Clinton Quarterly* subscription ($10/year). Distributech, P. O. Box 3073-N, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

Kemp 96
Football Jersey
Red, White and Blue
Front & Back
$20.00 + $2.50 S & H
Button or Bumper Sticker $2.00 each S & H included
Check/M.O. to JONART Productions
1718 M St. NW, Suite 183
Washington, DC 20036- (202) 310-1732
Catalogue Available

Prompt Delivery

LEGALIZE FREEDOM

ABOLISH THE I.R.S.!

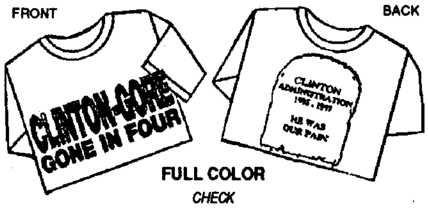
T-Shirts (100% Cttn.)–$13.95
Sweatshirts (50/50)–$23.95
Shipping: $3 1st Item, $1.50 ea. addl.
Send Check or M.O. to:
Liber-T's
7777 Fay Ave., Ste. K153N
La Jolla, CA 92037
CA residents please add 7.75% Sales

BUMPER STICKERS
DON'T BLAME ME,
I VOTED FOR BUSH

$2.50 ea.	2 for $4.00	6 for $10.00
25 or more $1.50 ea.		100 or more $1.10 ea.

POLITIX GRAFIX
15505 Bull Run Road, Suite 201A, Miami Lakes, FL 33014

FRONT



BACK

FULL COLOR
CHECK
VISA • MASTERCARD • DISCOVER

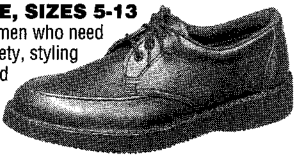
Clinton-Gore Gone In Four - - on front and
Clinton Administration 1993 - 1997
He Was Our Pain - - on back
Tee-Shirts $14.95 + 3.00 S&H • IL Res. add 6.5% tax.
TEAM U.S.A. P.O. Box 7141, Libertyville, IL 60048
Sizes: Child to XXL • Allow 4 - 6 weeks for delivery

"CLINTON COULDN'T RUN A LAUNDROMAT": Bumper sticker $3, T-Shirts (XL) $15. High quality. Jay-Dee Ventures, P. O. Box 62, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 19010.

For Sale

MEN'S WIDE SHOES

EEE-EEEEEEE, SIZES 5-13
Extra width for men who need it. Excellent variety, styling and quality. Send for **FREE CATALOG.**



Name ________________________________

Address ______________________________

City ________________ State ____ Zip ________

HITCHCOCK SHOES, INC.
Dept. 12F Hingham, MA 02043
Telephone (617) 749-3260

"POLITICALLY INCORRECT BUT POSITIVELY RIGHT" Red and blue on white mug. $10 each. Check/M.O. to: Adventure, P. O. Box 231, Linthicum, Md. 21090. All rights reserved.

WATCH CPAC '93 on video! 20th Anniversary Conservative Political Action Conference was the best ever! Watch Buchanan, Kemp, Rollins, North, Gramm, Cheney, Bennett, Quayle, Gingrich, Kirkpatrick plus many more. Call 216-867-4978 for complete listing.

CLINTON 4-YEAR "COUNT DOWN" CALENDAR. $10 plus $2 s&h (Calif. residents add 82 cents tax). Send check or money order to: RT Productions, 505 South Beverly Drive, Suite 870-D, Beverly Hills, Calif. 90212.

DROP THIS MAGAZINE NOW! And order the *NR* canvas tote bag. It's versatile, attractive, and easily big enough to hold all the letters in George Stephanopoulos's name! $7.95 (plus $2 postage & handling). Or, two bags for $15 (includes postage & handling). National Review, Dept. C/Tote, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Personal

BLUE-EYED WIDOWER seeks versatile, courageous lady 60+, new life, laughs. NR Box 2150.

CREATIVE, DYNAMIC, ENGAGING, accomplished woman, trim, healthy, well-travelled, seeks emotionally open man 48-62 with a sense of humor, intelligence, warmth, and flair, to share fun, romance, companionship, free time, travel, quiet time, communication, intimate times, and possibly more. Photo and personal letter please. NR Box 2151.

Financial

FINANCIAL PRIVACY NEWSLETTER protects your assets and reduces income taxes. Valuable monthly information. New subscriptions only $48. Write for FREE sample: Privacy Consultants, P. O. Box 959, Centro Colon 1007-NR, San Jose, Costa Rica. Privacy Information package $5. Representative inquiries invited.

Educational Opportunities

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TRAINING. Become politically active and successful. Learn to organize your college campus for conservatives. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 800-827-LEAD.

UNIVERSITY DEGREES without classes! Accredited Bachelor's, Master's, Doctorates. Free revealing facts. Thorson-NR, P. O. Box 470886, Tulsa, Okla. 74147.

CONSERVATIVE? Interested in a broadcast journalism career? The Broadcast Journalism School gives you what your college education doesn't. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 800-827-LEAD.

FREE VIDEO. Accredited external degree programs. Business management, health services administration, computer science, criminal-justice management, psychology & counseling, education and other specialized programs. Undergraduate/graduate financial aid. 800-945-1566. LaSalle University, Dept. #640, Mandeville, La. 70470-4000.

BECOME A PARALEGAL. Attorney-instructed home study. P.C.D.I., Atlanta, Ga. Free catalogue. 800-362-7070, Dept. LA173.

CONSERVATIVE? Learn how to pass foreign service exam. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 800-827-LEAD.

Professional Services

RESEARCH/WRITING. Academic and other. Research service. Chicago, Ill. 312-774-5284.

Vacation Rentals

PRINCEVILLE, KAUAI, fairway home. Three master bedrooms. $1,300/week. Brochure. 800-866-2539.

Miscellaneous

NR READER WISHES to purchase NR bound volumes (1955-1973; 1985-present). Write: NR Box 2152.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837, by Linda Colley (Yale, 429 pp., $35)

IN THIS absolutely magnificent book, Professor Linda Colley of Yale argues that the idea of being British was a cultural invention that took place between the Act of Union in 1707 and Waterloo in 1815. Britishness amounted to a new identity superimposed upon the much older nations of England, Scotland, and Wales. In rich historical detail, Professor Colley shows that the main elements of Britishness were Protestantism, deeply held, and reinforced by a century of wars against an initially more powerful Catholic France, and an ethic of commercial enterprise and imperial expansion in which Scots played an important—and often resented—hard-fisted role. Professor Colley loads every crevice with ore, and virtually every page brings intellectual discovery. I had not known, for instance, how devastating to British morale was the loss of *Protestant* America, a wound in the heart that led to a shivering of nerve, even a sense of sin, which in turn energized moral and political reform. This is a dazzling work of imaginative scholarship.

—JEFFREY HART

Theodore Roosevelt: A Life, by Nathan Miller (Morrow, 624 pp., $27.50)

ON President Theodore Roosevelt's 46th birthday, Secretary of War Elihu Root congratulated him: "You have made a very good start in life, and your friends have great hopes for you when you grow up." Nathan Miller's admiring biography adds little to what we already know about Roosevelt, but captures in breezy prose the sheer exuberance of this lusty man. It is unlikely that anyone has ever enjoyed the Presidency more. Throwing himself into battles with Congress, TR often appealed over its head to the public to win reforms. And he recognized that America's new power meant it had to take an active part in the world—building and showing off a powerful Navy, grabbing Panama for the Canal. At a White House luncheon, he delighted guests by throwing the Swiss minister to the floor several times to demonstrate a judo hold. If the generally uncritical Mr. Miller often can't resist him, the reader of this quick-paced, capable biography will understand why. —RICH LOWRY

Martyrs' Day: Chronicle of a Small War, by Michael Kelly (Random House, 351 pp., $22)

MICHAEL KELLY'S superb piece of reportage—especially in his chilling description of a Kurdish city that once housed 200,000 inhabitants, razed by Saddam Hussein's army house by house—reminds us that when George Bush compared Saddam to Hitler, he was not being facetious. Gulf War correspondent for *The New Republic*, Mr. Kelly brings to his work the mind of a scholar, the eye of a painter, and the pen of a poet. I particularly enjoyed the account of his dangerous trip from Iran to Turkey across temporarily free Kurdistan. He is astonished that theft is unknown in that unlucky country even while people die of hunger and disease: "I came from a country where . . . people who would be considered fat and happy by the standards of Kurdistan looted the stores in their neighborhoods whenever the lights went off for a few hours." Later, he is humbled by his Kurdish guides, who carry across the mountains all the load he cannot lug. To have felt it testifies to this writer's modesty. To have written it is a good test of his sense of humor.

—RADEK SIKORSKI

ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

The Lotus Maker

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 24

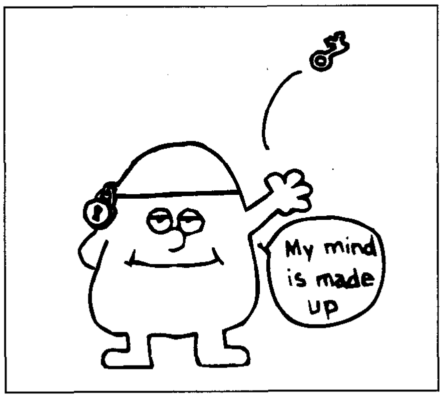
It is my feeling that Bill Clinton has the most salable political personality since JFK's. He gives the impression of total immersion in the problems of everybody (well, not quite everybody), as though he had risen from a baptist initiation with water coming out of every one of his pores, designed to wash away the problems of industrial workers, farmers, merchants, shipbuilders, gays, deficit watchers, the sick, the halt, and the lame. It works miracles on television, as witness his great coup with the kids in the White House. The viewer would not have been surprised if, at the end of the hour, he had officially adopted all forty of them, and given them quarters in the White House.

There is of course the difficulty that more and more observers are pointing to, however reluctantly. It is the encroaching sense of the con man; the sense, also, that all of those around him have become shills. An example is Alan Greenspan. Those of us who have closely watched his career know that there are grounds on which he stands very firmly. One of them is that an increase in taxes is exactly what one ought not to do when in a recession. A second is that the private sector invests much more shrewdly than the public sector, so that the idea of, e.g., the government investing in high-tech instead of, oh, AT&T and Microsoft is presumptively a bad idea. When the government decides it would be fun to land a man on the moon, then the private sector simply steps out of the way, and says: Go ahead, this is not our bag, not unless it is established that the moon is made of 22-karat gold. But otherwise, let shrewd private investment seek out productive avenues of industry. . . . But then what do we hear from Mr. Greenspan hours after the State of the Union address, which would have given Mr. Greenspan palpitations if spoken by, oh, President Norman Thomas? He thinks it's just fine, and was able to hear every word of it, given that he was seated next to . . . Hillary.

Then we have Mr. Clinton's odd propensity for utter confusion with numbers. When during the campaign the Bush people took the figures from Clinton's speeches and said this looks to us like higher taxes not just for people making two hundred grand per year, but for people making sixty grand, Mr. Stephanopoulos, Clinton's running emollient, was there simply to laugh it away. It turns out that the Republicans underrated the incidence of higher expenses, which will be paid by people earning as little as twenty thousand per year.

Mr. Clinton has given the word "fairness" an entirely new meaning: the more you tax the wealthy, the fairer you are. He does not remind his audiences that it was Democratic Congresses that passed the 1981 and the 1986 acts, reducing the top taxation rate to 28 per cent. Now it is "fair" to make that 36 per cent. Plus 2.9 per cent extra for Medicare. Plus taxation of 85 per cent of Social Security benefits. Plus non-deductibility of high salaries and business lunches. Since Mr. Clinton never allows himself to ask whether these higher taxes might not be counterproductive, one wonders whether there is any philosophical obstacle to his suggesting a 100 per cent tax after, say $150,000? On the other hand, why not $100,000? Isn't that what fairness has come to mean?

Then there is that rich vein of disingenuousness, when suddenly a tax becomes a spending cut. If 85 per cent of Social Security payments are going to be taxed, then X billion dollars less is going to go from Washington to American citizens. Run that through the Clinton Newspeak machine and we see not a tax increase but a spending cut. If that maneuver had been tried by Tricky Dick, he'd have been run out of town with wet towels.


My mind is made up

© Mal Ent., Inc.

Now it's just possible that the boy-scout do-goodness of the Clinton persona will make all the above vaguely invisible. The higher-tariff, higher-taxes, corporation-depressing, dollar-finagling snake-oiler recedes behind the big smile, the hug, the exalted rhetoric. But it's possible also that there is a hard intelligence out there among the American people and that a year or two from now the ebullience will suddenly stop working for him as reality creeps in like iron weeds, isolating the giggle-house at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. ☐

High Courage At the Pentagon

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 22

I'd give my old dog-tags to be present at West Point—or Annapolis—when the colonel in Washington explains why the Pentagon will not permit a two-hour television debate on those sacred premises on the question, "Resolved, Women should not engage in combat duty." It has been arranged for *Firing Line* to organize such an exploration, with four speakers on either side, and the natural location is of course one of the great service academies. When word reached me that some lady colonel in the Pentagon vetoed the idea, I asked her, through the producer, Why? and got back that the subject was too "controversial."

This was very difficult to take seriously, and accordingly I wrote to the secretary of defense, Mr. Dick Cheney, reminding him that, after all, war is also pretty controversial but it is discussed quite regularly within the tender hearing of plebes and cadets in the military academies. A month or so after dispatching the letter I found myself at a small dinner party with Mr. Cheney. I nudged him—How was it he had not replied? He whispered that he was going to work on the Air Force Academy.

Hearing nothing, a month or so later I put in a call to SecDef Cheney. He returned it at an hour when I was not in the office. I returned his call, approximately, oh, ten times, always calling back when told he would certainly be there. After the tenth call I advised his secretary that it was by no means necessary for me to converse with the departing Secretary of Defense, I needed only the simple answer to a simple question:

Yes or No on the Air Force Academy? Mr. Cheney never got back to me, not even with a Yes or No via his secretary. It must be that the answer was No, and that he was too embarrassed to tell me so. I don't blame him.

It is a quite extraordinary commentary on the military academies that the high command will not tolerate, let alone welcome, a spirited debate on a subject very much on people's minds. It was after all less than a year ago that a presidential commission voted on the question, by a narrow margin recommending against women-in-combat. Surely it can't be that the military academies must not be exposed to views so controversial?

I have lectured three times at West Point, twice at Annapolis, once at the Air Force Academy, and a dozen times at the National War College, and I have been politically incorrect since puberty, shortly after which I was inducted into the army at Ft. Jackson, in Columbia, South Carolina. The producer, having been rejected by the academies, lined up Ft. Jackson for the debate (which will take place at the end of March). But lo! the lady colonel got wind of it, and—ZING! exit Ft. Jackson. The Pentagon appears to have terrorized the entire military establishment. If you are unsurprised, on the simple grounds that bureaucracies are more or less organically poised to prevent anything intellectually or politically interesting from taking place, then one shrugs one's shoulders—forget it. If the military bureaucracy is sufficiently powerful to render Dick Cheney incapable of delivering a message or answering his mail, then we bow to *force majeure.*

On the other hand, if opposition to a ventilation of the question in front of live soldiers, male and female, is the problem, then one is entitled to ask, What's going on? Lined up on the women-should-fight team are, among others, Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder, which is a flat guarantee that all the wrong and demagogic things will be properly said. Also Ira Glasser of the ACLU, who is every bit as bright as he is perverse. And when the request was made, on the opposing team we had General Alexander Haig, who shouldn't really be thought of as unqualified to give his views on the subject.

Perhaps it has to do with feminist ideology. "If a debate is held at West Point [I assume this is how the conversation went, when the Pentagon was giving the question its powerful attention], the impression is given that both sides are tenable. That reasonable people can take either the one or the other position. But do we *dare* give out such an impression, in an age in which sexual equality is the passion? Maybe President Clinton would punish us by subtracting another fifty billion from our budget!

"Better say no."

And these are types who sometimes qualify for the Congressional Medal of Honor. □

The Hoover Story

NEW YORK, MARCH 1

Two magazines currently being distributed will tell you that 1) J. Edgar Hoover was a roaring homosexual, and 2) J. Edgar Hoover was nothing of the sort; indeed, that the allegations are based "upon no evidence whatsoever."

The accusations against Hoover are published in *Vanity Fair* magazine. They are excerpts from a book by Anthony Summers, and they allege a great deal more than that Mr. Hoover was gay. The book speaks of photographs owned by members of the Mafia, who bought special immunities by threatening to expose Hoover. It then quotes a sometime wife of Lewis Rosenstiel, a wealthy degenerate, who goes about as far at this kind of thing as one can get. Mrs. Rosenstiel is quoted as saying that in 1958 she went to an orgy at the Plaza Hotel. Summers writes, "Hoover was dressed up as a woman, in full drag. 'He was wearing [says Mrs. Rosenstiel] a fluffy black dress, very fluffy, with flounces, and lace stockings and high heels, and a black curly wig. He had makeup on and false eyelashes. It was a very short skirt, and he was sitting there in the living room of the suite with his legs crossed.'" After that, J. Edgar Hoover went to the adjacent bedroom and had sex, sort of, with two blond boys.

Excuse me, but there are those of us who simply will not believe this, on the basis of testimony by a mobster's fourth wife and two gentlemen who insist on anonymity.

The author of the feature in *Forbes FYI* magazine is Gordon Liddy, the Watergate entrepreneur, who was in the FBI for many years and worked under Hoover. But all that he has to say by way of confuting the Hoover-was-gay business is that far from being one, Hoover despised homosexuals. The trouble with this defense is that it is empty: Gay bashers can be privately gay, even as fire-and-brimstone preachers can be privately promiscuous.

It is something else that catches the eye. In the course of telling the story of J. Edgar Hoover, Mr. Summers necessarily tells in some detail the story of Marilyn Monroe. As the narrative floats up on the page the reader is saying to himself: "Oh yes. That. Of course. Have read it before, seen it on *60 Minutes* or something. Same old business."

That same old business informs us that JFK had an affair with Marilyn Monroe that ended only in May of 1962. That Bobby Kennedy's affair with her took up where his brother's left off. That the FBI's Hoover, to protect his own job, was constantly accumulating evidence of JFK's sexual escapades, and now Bobby's. That on August 4, 1962, Bobby visited Marilyn, who was discovered dead hours later; hence it became critical to conceal all the evidence of the attorney general's visit. Interesting collateral charges are made. "Sam Giancana's half-brother Chuck," writes Mr. Summers, "claimed in 1992 that the Chicago mobster had Monroe murdered so that 'Bobby Kennedy's affair with the starlet would be exposed.' A mass of testimony . . . suggests that Robert Kennedy flew to Los Angeles on August 4 and had an ugly showdown with Monroe. The row drove Monroe to hysteria, and her psychiatrist, Dr. Ralph Greenson, had to be called. Years later, he confirmed privately that Robert Kennedy also was present the night the star died. To complicate matters, a crumpled piece of paper, found in Monroe's bedclothes, bore a White House telephone number. A remarkable cover-up followed. The problem of that scrap of paper, and many other embarrassments, simply evaporated. Records of Monroe's . . . last phone calls . . . had been removed from the headquarters of General Telephone by midmorning on the day after Monroe's death. And, according to the company's division manager, Robert Tiarks, they were taken by the FBI."

What one wonders is: Where are the big-timers, the big publishers, moviemakers, researchers, historians? Why don't they do a genuine investigation into the Monroe case? Why isn't a congressional committee interested, if indeed it turns out that she was a sexual creature of an attorney general who was being blackmailed by the mob? Oliver Stone proved absolutely nothing in the hundredth re-examination of the Grassy Knoll in Dallas on November 22, 1963. How is it that a story that contains all the above about Monroe–Kennedy, Kennedy–FBI–mob, gets less attention than the inherently preposterous proposition that J. Edgar Hoover went to parties at the Plaza Hotel in drag? □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

New Age Hypochondria

A FEW WEEKS ago a woman in town noticed I was limping and asked what was wrong. When I said I had an ingrown toenail she beamed with joy and recommended her podiatrist, singing his praises so fervently that I couldn't get a word in. Finally, when she paused to dig in her bag for his card, I spoke.

"Stop. I don't care to associate with the sort of person who majors in feet."

An ingrown toenail is as challenging as a crossword puzzle. I had a martini to prepare myself for surgery; then, when I felt good and supple, I sterilized my instruments in boiling water and went to work. I got the little bugger out, then doused my toe with rubbing alcohol, followed by hydrogen peroxide—"Stand the sting and you get to watch the foam," as my grandmother used to say when she doctored my skinned knees.

Afterward, I had another martini to celebrate my recovery. As I sat watching my foaming toe, it occurred to me that what I had just done might well be declared illegal in the not-too-distant future. Now that the Gray Gelding has put Regina Dentata in charge of national health, I could end up in the Hillary–Billary dock.

The charge would not be anything so forthright as "practicing medicine without a license"; no, they would call it "medical unawareness" or, better yet, "health dissing."

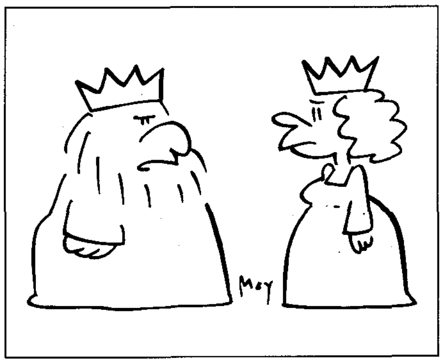
Once they found out my medical history and realized my family invented health dissing—no prenatal care, mother ate and smoked for two, born at home, delivered by grandmother, father stayed in kitchen—I would be sent, like poor Marge Schott, to a re-education camp and given electroshock treatments to clear my brain of an opinion I have held as long as I can remember, which I'd yell at my captors as they dragged me away: "Fussing over your health is low class!"

Nobody ever told me this in so many words, but somehow I imbibed it, just as I imbibed the idea that the more money you have, the less you should appear to have. When I read *The Late George Apley* I instinctively liked the rich protagonist for having darned tablecloths and threadbare rugs, just as I instinctively liked Honoré de Balzac when I read his biographer's calculation that he drank 50,000 cups of coffee so he could write all night in spite of what it did to his heart.

Churchill put it best when he observed, "Most of the world's work is done by people who don't feel very well," but nowadays practitioners of aristocratic stoicism are said to be "in denial." A sterner, nobler America is anathema to New Age philosophes; their ideal is the wailing proletarian who lives by the soap-opera credo, "I'm sick, therefore I am."

Deer-on-velvet sensibility comes through loud and clear in the ubiquitous "Health Watch" segments on television news. These emotion-drenched reports feature scuzzy-looking individuals who hold up their drainage bags or their cross-eyed kids to the camera; unappetizing women with their breasts clamped in mammogram machines; and blank-eyed expectant mothers who allow themselves to be photographed in the stirrups.

Invited to "tell their story in their own words," they slip into the whining nasal tones of trailer-park grievance collectors, explaining that it all started when the medicine that was supposed to cure *this* caused *that*; then another medicine they took for a disease they thought they had but didn't caused the double vision that caused the accident; and then the triplets ate the asbestos.



"But I'm supposed *to have an elitist attitude!"*

These sagas of pain and wrecked lives and germ-free plastic bubbles are supposed to be moving, but they move me to expropriate George V's words on hearing that one of his courtiers liked little boys: "I always thought people like that shot themselves."

NEW AGE hypochondria lends itself to the literary exercise feminists call "deconstruction." If we keep peeling the artichoke of "health awareness" we eventually will uncover an unpleasant truth that pollsters cannot reach.

Notwithstanding our worship of perfect bench-pressed bodies, we like them much better if their owners admit to overdosing on steroids and waste away before our very eyes, preferably in public-service commercials about the dangers of steroids. New Age hypochondriacs glorify the lame, the halt, and the defective. Like Bill Clinton compulsively retelling the story of the New Hampshire boy who navigated his wheelchair down an icy winter highway to get to a Clinton rally, they cheer every insane feat the handicapped undertake, from double amputees climbing mountains to blind yachtsmen sailing the Atlantic alone.

New Age hypochondriacs call such foolhardy exploits "courageous," and woe be unto anyone who disagrees with this fashionable rationalization, because something very important is at stake here.

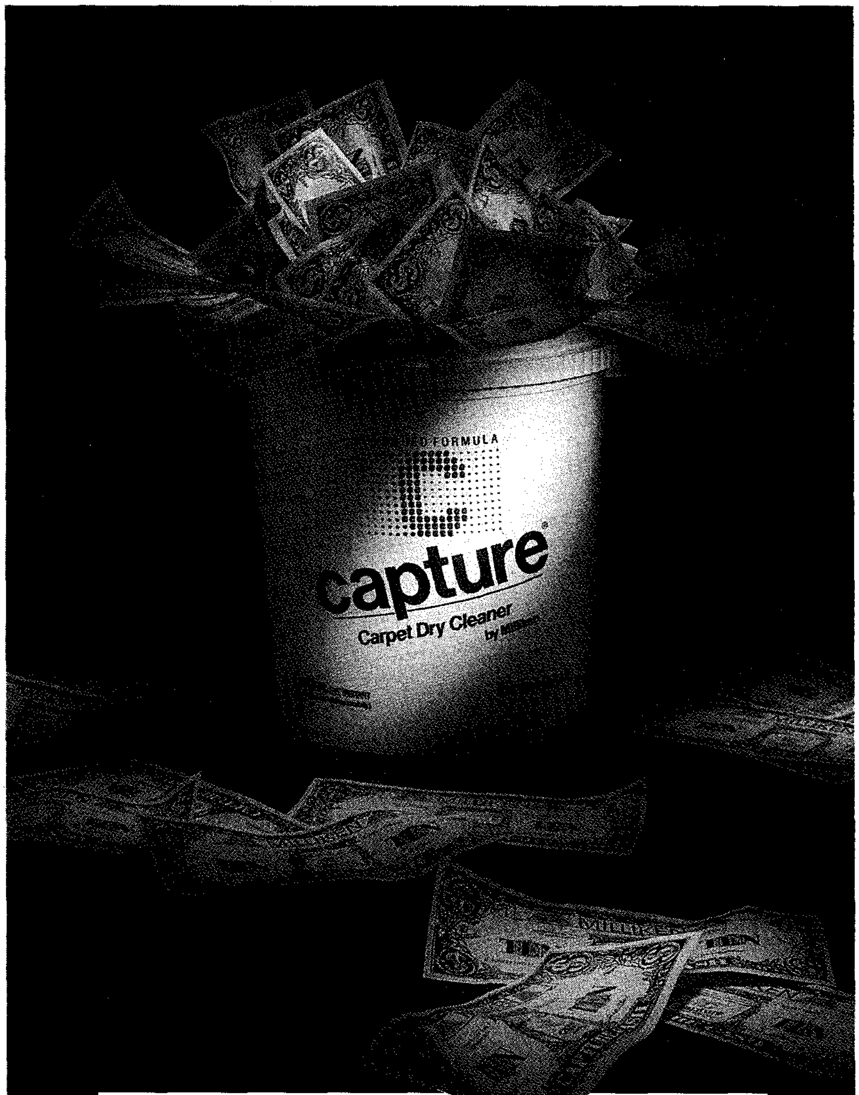
Extolling pointless and unthreatening physical courage helps New Agers forget their own lack of moral courage. They actually hate the healthy and wish to encourage hypochondria because they are "in denial" about America's most serious problem, and Louis-Ferdinand Céline, a French physician-turned-novelist, provided a merciless explanation of why: "When people can stand up, they're thinking of killing you. Whereas when they're ill, there's no doubt about it, they're less dangerous."

Our Great Diversity rides again. Suppose they gave a civil war and nobody was well enough to come?

—FLORENCE KING

Miss King's latest book is With Charity Toward None *(St. Martin's Press).*

MILLIKEN

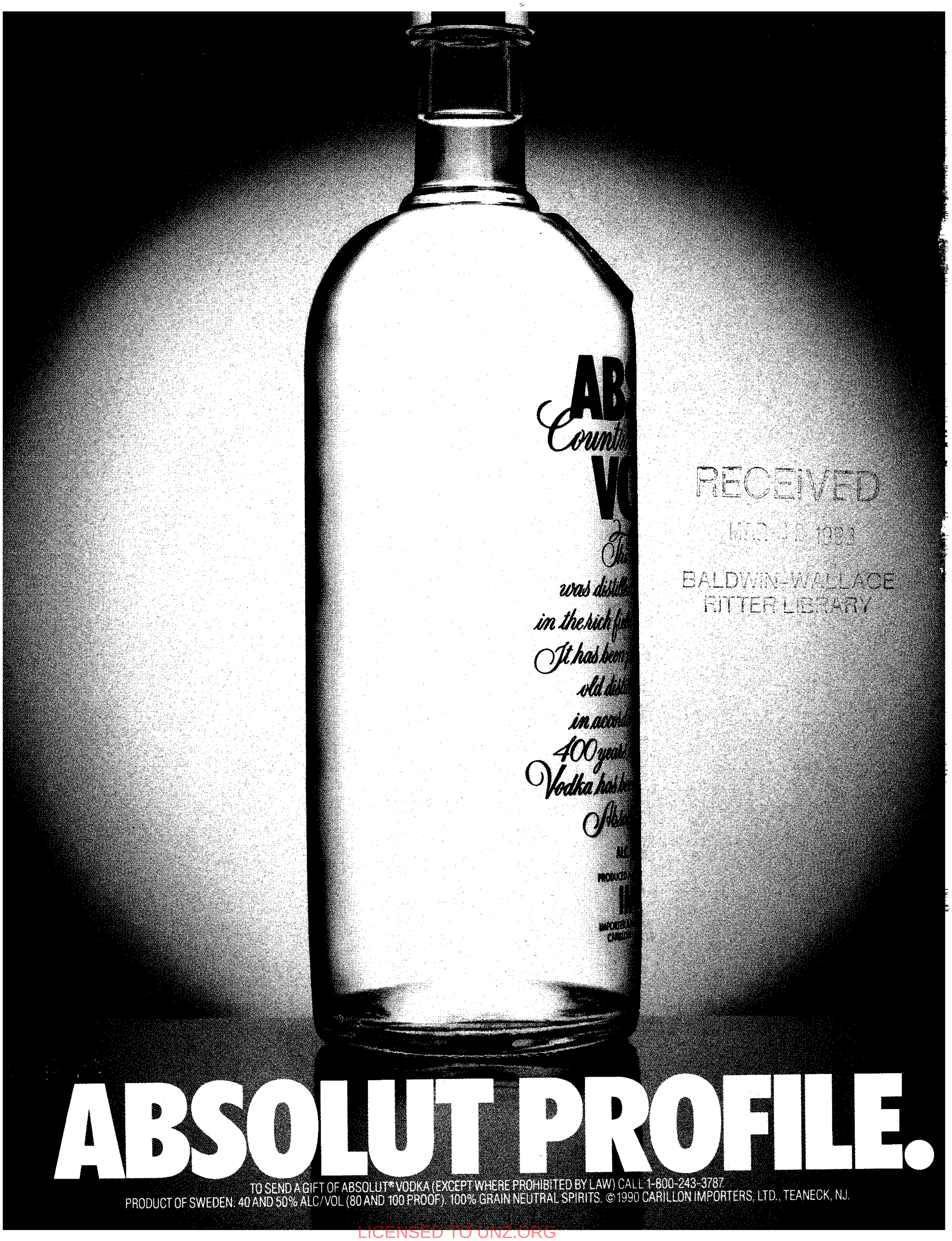

FORMULA
capture
Carpet Dry Cleaner
by Milliken

Capture The Cash.

Now there's a way for you to cash in on a great
Milliken product without a big investment!
We want you to be a Milliken Place dealer.
So we've got a great offer for you. With just
a small investment, and minimal floor space,
you can clean up selling Milliken's extraordinary
dry carpet cleaner.

Just call
1-800-223-1535
8 am - 5 pm Eastern Time

And capture the cash,
with Capture by Milliken.



TO SEND A GIFT OF ABSOLUT® VODKA (EXCEPT WHERE PROHIBITED BY LAW) CALL 1-800-243-3787.
PRODUCT OF SWEDEN. 40 AND 50% ALC/VOL (80 AND 100 PROOF). 100% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS. ©1990 CARILLON IMPORTERS, LTD., TEANECK, NJ.

RECEIVED
MAR [illegible] 1993
BALDWIN-WALLACE
RITTER LIBRARY